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# Daily Report

# Latin America

FBIS-LAT-90-051
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# Daily Report
## Latin America

*FBIS-LAT-90-051* *15 March 1990*

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## OAS Meetings on Regional Drug Efforts Planned

*FL1403185090 Bridgetown CANA in English 1543 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Washington, March 14, CANA—Regional efforts in the area of drugs will be the theme of two Organization of American States (OAS) meetings in Buenos Aires, Argentina, this month, and one, at a ministerial level, in Ixtapa, Mexico this April.

A group of experts on chemicals and substances used in the production of illicit drugs will meet in Buenos Aires, March 19-23. They will be fine-tuning a model of regulations for the control of these precursory chemicals and substances, as well as the machinery and various other elements involved in the production of illegal drugs. Ignacio Gonzalez, alternative representative from Chile to the OAS, will preside over the meeting.

From March 27-30 in Buenos Aires, the seventh regular session of the Inter-American Commission for the Control of Drug Abuse (CICAD), an organ of the OAS created to administer an Inter-American programme on drugs, will take place. During this meeting, a new president and vice president will be chosen. Currently, the commission is formed of 21 members and is presided over by Bolivian Anibal Aguilar.

## Honduras' Callejas on Central American Summit

*PA1403141690 Paris AFP in Spanish 0737 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Caracas, 13 Mar (AFP)—Honduran President Rafael Callejas announced today the probable holding of a Central American summit in Managua late this month to discuss the peaceful transition of power in Nicaragua. He made the announcement to newsmen during a stopover in Caracas.

Callejas arrived in Caracas from Chile this afternoon aboard a Venezuelan Air Force flight. He will travel to Honduras 14 March.

Callejas traveled to Chile 11 March to attend Chilean President Patricio Aylwin's inauguration, together with Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and Presidents Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua, Oscar Arias of Costa Rica, and Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela.

The Honduran president said that during his visit to Chile he discussed with the four presidents "the establishment of procedures that will permit accelerating the peaceful transition in Nicaragua and generating a Central American process based on democracy and future viablity."

One of the probable results of that dialogue will be "the holding of a summit late this month in Nicaragua, after consultations are carried out with Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani and Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo," the president stated. Callejas also confirmed that he will attend the inauguration of Nicaraguan President-elect Violeta de Chamorro on 25 April.

## Caricom-Canada Summit To Meet in Barbados

*FL1303212690 Bridgetown CANA in English 2027 GMT 13 Mar 90*

[Report by Rickey Singh]

[Text] Bridgetown, Barbados, March 13, CANA—A Caribbean Community-Canada summit which gets underway in Barbados on March 19 represents hopes on both sides for an improvement in relations between this region and its North American neighbour. The agenda for the special summit of Caricom heads of government and their Canadian counterpart, Brian Mulroney, has been arranged by host government Barbados. But, as diplomatic sources told CANA, "it reflects a consensus based on consultations with all of the participating countries". Diplomatic sources said it could see Mulroney making some positive announcements.

Unlike the apparently rushed arrangements for last week's stop-over visit here by U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle, representatives from the internally self-governing colony of Montserrat to all of the 12 other Caricom member states will be coming for the March 19-20 meetings with Mulroney, who is scheduled to arrive in Barbados on Sunday [18 March].

As the third Canadian prime minister to arrive on an official visit to the English-speaking Caribbean since 1983, Mulroney has already been alerted about some of the expectations of the Caricom governments in terms of improved trade and bilateral and multilateral economic assistance from Canada. Debt alleviation, the fight against drug trafficking, problems relating to West Indian farm labourers and West Indian migrants in Canada—currently home for an estimated half a million Caribbean citizens—are also expected to be covered during the summit.

Host Prime Minister Erskine Sandiford told CANA that he and his fellow Caricom heads of government were anxiously looking forward to "a very candid appraisal of existing relations with Canada and how best to deepen such relations in our mutual interest." There is optimism that Mulroney would have "some positive announcements" to make or else, as one senior diplomatic source told CANA, "he may not have agreed to a meeting of this nature at this time."

Both Canadian and Caricom government spokesmen have often emphasised the very good relations they have and which they now look forward to improving in international bodies like the Organisation of American States (OAS) of which Canada recently became a member. From 1957 to 1989, Canada has provided approximately Can. 963 million dollars in economic assistance, making this region the recipient of the highest

per capita bilateral aid from the Canadians, whose foreign investment in the region totals around Can. 4 billion dollars.

From the early days of trading West Indian rum and molasses for Canadian cod and lumber before independence came to the West Indies in 1962, Canada-Caricom trade has developed to a current substantial level of some Can. 600 million dollars. Traditionally in Canada's favour, including Can. 48 million dollars last year, the gap in the terms of trade has been progressively declining as Caricom countries increase their non-traditional exports—long dominated by bauxite and alumina sales—to Canada.

According to some Canadian officials here, Canada would like to think that the pattern of its economic assistance, particularly within the past eight to ten years, the duty-free concessions under the Canada-Caricom trade programme called Caribcan as well as the growing number of Canadian tourists to the Caribbean, have helped to improve the general picture for the region. Canadian high profile investments in the mining, banking and insurance sectors are today unmistakable features of the economic landscape of member countries of the Caribbean Community. And Canadian tourists, an estimated 300,000 of them, now regularly spend their holidays in the Caribbean accounting for approximately Can. 275 million dollars in expenditure annually in the region.

While Canadian economic aid has been on the increase until last year when it was estimated at Can. 115 million dollars, there continues to be criticisms by some governments and independent economists and banking officials of the region about the extent to which this aid is tied to the purchase of goods and services from Canada. Some of these officials see this aid policy that until very recently required as much as 80 percent of every dollar having to be spent on Canadian goods and services as placing Canada among major donors with the highest level of tied aid. This policy has, according to Canadian officials, now been adjusted to require an estimated 66 percent of Canada's economic assistance to be utilised in the purchase of goods and services from the donor country.

Among the Caricom heads of government expected for the Caricom-Canada summit is Guyana's President Desmond Hoyte, whose government is counting heavily on Canada's influence as head of a seven-nation "support group" seeking to put together a financing package for its three-year economic recovery programme that is tied to a hitherto elusive agreement with the International Monetery Fund (IMF).

The final official programme for the visit of the Canadian prime minister and Mrs Mulroney and the Caricom heads of government is being finalised and should be released this weekend. Mulroney is scheduled to declare open a Canadian trade exhibition at the Dover Convention Centre on March 20.

## Suriname Supports Caricom in Banana Dispute

*FL0703190790 Bridgetown CANA in English 1749 GMT 7 Mar 90*

[Text] Castries, St. Lucia, March 7, CANA—Suriname is standing firmly behind the banana producing states of the eastern Caribbean in their dispute with the Dominican Republic, according to Suriname's ambassador to the Caribbean community (Caricom), John Kolader. Kolader said the Dominican Republic did not handle negotiations with the community fairly.

Caribbean community states complain that the Dominican Republic went back on a promise not to compete with them in fruit exports to Europe in return for their support in getting access to the Lome Trade and Aid Convention linking the European Community and developing countries.

The Suriname envoy was in St. Lucia to attend meetings focusing on Caribbean banana exports, including one last week that looked at the decision of the Dominican Republic to ship bananas to Europe in competition with fruit from the English-speaking Caribbean. Ambassador Koladar said it was clear that the future of the eastern Caribbean depended on the successful conclusion of the discussions here.

"We are brothers and sisters in the region and we must think together as to how we will deal with this problem," the ambassador said.

Suriname is a member of the Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group that trades with Europe under the Lome Convention. It exports bananas to the United Kingdom.

"We regard the Dominican Republic as a Caribbean country, which is why along with Haiti we supported its entry into the ACP. But we are convinced that the Dominican Republic did not handle its negotiations with Caricom in a fair manner as far as international relations go," he said.

"It is clear that they were holding back information, and we are very disappointed, as it is important that the banana industry in the eastern Caribbean is protected, being the lifeblood of these islands," ambassador Kolader said.

The ambassador who last visited St. Lucia in 1988, toured the Windward Islands Packaging Company (Winera). Company officials said that they discussed the possibility of resuming the export of banana boxes to Suriname, which was at one time Winera's major export market. The two parties endorsed a proposal for the mounting of a trade exposition to Suriname in concert with other local manufacturers.

"Suriname was once our most profitable external market, and we will do whatever we can to revive that relationship," said the managing director of Winera, Dennis Labassierre.

## Cuba

### President Fidel Castro Arrives in Brazil

*FL1403222190 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 2212 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Report by special correspondent Alberto D. Perez from Brasilia, Brazil—live]

[Text] I have good news. Commander in Chief Fidel Castro has just arrived at the military section of the Brasilia international airport. He arrived at approximately at 1620. He is now on Brazilian territory. He was the object of a very beautiful military ceremony welcoming him to Brazil. I will have more details later.

### Interviewed on TV

*FL1503015790 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0044 GMT 15 Mar 90*

[Text] Brasilia, 14 Mar (NOTIMEX)—During an interview granted to the private Brazilian TV Globo network shortly after his arrival in this capital, Cuban President Fidel Castro today expressed his optimism for the future of socialism. I am profoundly convinced of this, and I say this not from a theoretical position but because of what socialism represents in my country and for the economic and social development that our country has had during the years of the revolution, Castro said.

The presence of the Cuban leader caught the attention of the 3,500 Brazilian and foreign journalists covering tomorrow's inauguration of the new Brazilian president, Fernando Collor de Mello.

Perhaps it is not correct to speak of communism because that was an earlier stage, but I can say that I consider socialism to be the future, the Cuban leader said.

Castro arrived in Brasilia at 1815. He is accompanied by Cuban Vice President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez and an 80-member delegation, one of the largest of the 121 special missions that will attend tomorrow's inauguration. The Cuban leader was received by the deputy secretary of the Foreign Ministry's Bilateral Affairs Department, Ambassador Luis Felip Lampreia.

In the evening, the Cuban leader participated in a dinner hosted by President Jose Sarney for the heads of state and/or government that are in Brasilia.

### GRANMA Reportedly Alters Castro Speech

*PA1403200890 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1849 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Report by Gerardo Gonzalez]

[Text] Havana, 14 Mar (EFE)—Western media accredited in Cuba were disconcerted today by the announcement made last night by President Fidel Castro to the effect that he considers it possible for there to be a change in his functions as head of state.

EFE determined today that neither diplomatic nor journalistic circles have so far been able to assess the significance of this insinuation, which moreover is not contained in the official version of the speech that was published this morning by GRANMA, the organ of the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC).

Castro, who was speaking to some 40,000 students in Havana's Revolution Square, said that when he can no longer jump (as he had done three times in response to a student slogan), it will be time to think about changing his functions.

Fidel Castro presently serves as commander in chief, president of the Councils of State and of Ministers, and first secretary of the PCC [Communist Party of Cuba].

However, as long as my heart continues to beat and my brain to think, I will continue to be a soldier of the revolution, and I will be at the side of the revolution as long as I can move a finger, Castro added.

Castro was accompanied on the speaker's platform by his brother Raul Castro, current minister of the Armed Forces, who is second in the Cuban hierachy and the designated successor as chief of state in the event of Castro's absence.

The official version circulated by GRANMA indicates that on that point, Fidel Castro also said: No one can say how long he will be useful. That is determined by nature and time.

This perspective increases even more the expectations and possible importance of the Fourth PCC Congress, which was recently scheduled by the Central Committee for the first half of 1991 [as received]. The specific convocation to the congress will be made by Raul Castro tomorrow during a ceremony to be held in Santiago (in the eastern part of the island). The scheduling of the congress has already been accompanied by a number of changes in the party organs and Cuban Government, interpreted on the island as a reinforcement of the Fidelist and communist guidelines of the state.

In any case, whatever Castro's personal future may hold, the president demonstrated in his speech to the students that he is determined to maintain the Cuban revolution without making concessions of any kind to the imperialist enemy (the United States). He indicated that the refusal to make concessions will be his response to the foreseeable advice of other Latin American leaders with whom he will meet in Brasilia, to which he is traveling today to attend the 15 March inauguration of Brazilian President-elect Fernando Collor de Mello.

Castro's personal announcement to the gathering that he would be traveling to Brazil on a visit of political importance was also an almost complete novelty in Cuban Government custom, because for security reasons Castro's travels are never announced beforehand. The Cuban president explained that this was because of the moral importance of this trip, to demonstrate to the

imperialists that he is not the least afraid of them and that he is not afraid to take risks.

On the visit, Castro also emphasized Brazil's international importance, the excellent relations between Cuba and that South American country, and the usefulness of his talks there with the leaders of other Latin American countries, which have different political systems but similar problems and histories.

Another aspect of Castro's speech, the scope of which he declined to reveal and the interpretation of which is also unclear to foreign observers residing in Havana, was his reference to those who are inside the system but who believe that the revolution can be dismantled.

Some of them are infiltrated in certain institutions. Once in a while, they perk up their hairy ears. They are in hiding, and the time will come to unmask them, but I do not want to get ahead of myself, Castro said, without further specifics.

Last night's ceremony was organized by the Federation of University Students of Cuba. It was also a platform for convoking the fourth congress, the dates of which were set for 19 and 20 December.

It would seem that Fidel Castro will not have made any changes in his functions by that time, since the students acclaimed him as the first delegate to the congress, while his brother Raul was proclaimed the second delegate.

### Additions to Castro Anniversary Ceremony Speech

*FL1403193690*

Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish at 2336 GMT on 13 March carries a live speech delivered by President Fidel Castro to mark the anniversary of the assault on the Presidential Palace. The following additions should be added to the version published in the 14 March Latin America DAILY REPORT beginning on page l.

Page 4, column one, first full paragraph, third sentence make read: ... Perhaps they imagine that this is an easy task. How are we going to convince them? If they had eyes they could see it. They could see our labor congress, our women's congress, our plenary meeting of the student leadership, and the people's activities and struggle... (supplying material included during 20-second break in reception)

Page 7, column two, first partial paragraph, last sentence, make read: ...[laughter in crowd; applause] Forget it.... (supplying indistinct words)

Same page, column two, paragraph two, last sentence, make read: ...include Comrade Lazo [Esteban Lazo, first secretary of the party in Santiago de Cuba], the new eastern titan,... (supplying editor's note)

Page 8, column one, paragraph four, seventh sentence, make read: ...Now, using the same idea, I say that I am accompanied by your hearts.... (supplying indistinct words)

### Havana Says U.S. 'Deeply Involved' in Haiti

*FL1403192590 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Station commentary]

[Text] In the midst of the turbulent political situation in Haiti, one thing is clear: the United States is deeply involved in the entire process that has occurred there since the fall of the Duvalier dynasty. And something else is readily apparent: Washington has not yet found its dream figure, that is, someone to take over the reins of the island who will covertly follow U.S. orders but at the same time, of course, have a convincing enough image to avoid great social upheavals as far as possible.

Obviously, first General Henri Namphy and then General Prosper Avril did not meet the requirements. Both played the role of guinea pigs and failed. Namphy was ousted by Avril, and Avril was ousted by the U.S. ambassador in Port-au-Prince as a result of the ever more dangerous mass demonstrations. In fact, Washington's hand arranged everything. Even the Duvalier dynasty itself was overthrown just at the time it stopped being useful to Washington because of the new political realities in the hemisphere.

So the U.S. intention is to continue to govern in Haiti from the shadows, but avoiding bloodbaths if possible, especially after the bloody invasion and occupation of Panama. The Panama invasion is not a closed case nor does it have a plausible explanation, although some are striving now to bury the matter. In any case, in Haiti a new political situation is emerging, and it does not seem that it will be easy to pull the wool over the Haitians' eyes.

### Prisoner Elected Human Rights Party President

*PA1403222490 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0035 GMT 8 Mar 90*

[Text] Havana, 7 Mar (EFE)—Political prisoner Mario Chanes de Armas has been elected president of the Cuban Party for Human Rights (PPDHC), according to a communique delivered to EFE by that opposition organization today.

The communique, signed by the poet Tania Fiaz Castro, secretary general of the outlawed PPDHC, states that Chanes de Armas has suffered one of the longest political sentences in history.

According to the PPDHC note, the organization's members are committed to the ideas that led to the creation of the party, which seeks to obtain a constitutional opportunity within Cuban society.

Mario Chanes de Armas, who has been in jail for 28 years, is one of the last three historical, steadfast, recalcitrant prisoners. Together with Alfredo Mustelier and Ernesto Diaz, the other two, he is serving more than 20 years in jail for crimes against state security. Steadfast recalcitrants are prisoners who refuse to wear prison uniforms and reject rehabilitation programs proposed by the authorities.

Chanes de Armas, imprisoned in 1961, participated in the 1953 assault on the Moncada barracks and was a crew member on the yacht Granma, which brought Fidel Castro and his closest followers from Mexico to Cuba to start the revolution that triumphed in 1959.

### CDR Head Ends Country Tour on Isle of Youth

*FL1403140990 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Sixto Batista Santana, alternate member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Cuba and national coordinator of the CDR [Committees for the Defense of the Revolution], pointed out the major tasks the mass organization carries out, including the defense of the revolution, as the essential part of the CDR's work. Batista Santana began a visit to the special municipality of the Isle of Youth, with which he will conclude a tour of the country after his appointment as national coordinator of the CDR. The tour included meetings with outstanding work cooperatives.

### Ghanaian First Lady Ends Eight-Day Visit

*AB1503082890 Accra Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings has stressed the need for cooperation among developing countries to speed their programs for the socioeconomic advancement of women. She was addressing factory workers in Havana, at the end of an eight-day visit to Cuba.

The visit was at the invitation of the Cuban Federation of Women. According to a report from the Ghana Embassy in Havana, Nana Konedu participated in the fifth congress of the Federation and held discussions with its leadership on bilateral cooperation and specific projects relating to housing and child education.

She praised Cuba for her positive stand on development of women and her readiness to cooperate with Ghana in that area. Nana Konedu later visited several educational institutions, including a teacher training college and the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial School on the Isle of Youth.

### Castro Asks High Production From Sugar Workers

*FL1403131590 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Pedro Ross Leal, CTC [Cuban Workers Federation] secretary general and alternate member of the Politburo, has transmitted a message from Commander in Chief Fidel Castro to the workers of the Panama agroindustrial complex. Through Ross, Fidel has exhorted the sugar workers at that complex not to neglect any job and to eliminate cases of negligence that could cause breakdowns in the industry. Our commander in chief appealed to the workers at the Panama agroindustrial complex to process more than 90 percent of the potential norm of sugarcane every day for the rest of the current sugar harvest.

## Grenada

### NDC Confident of 'Comfortable Majority'

*FL1403194190 Bridgetown CANA in English 1911 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Report by Peter Richards ]

[Text] St. George's, Grenada, March 14, CANA—The National Democratic Congress (NDC), which barely failed to win an outright majority in Tuesday's [13 March] general elections here, says it is confident it will be able to muster a "comfortable majority" to form a new administration possibly by today (Wednesday).

"The government majority could be much more than eight. We can have a comfortable majority...Probably even ten," deputy leader of the NDC, lawyer Dr. Francis Alexis told CANA. The NDC won seven of the 15 seats at stake in the elections, with the Grenada United Labour Party (GULP) four seats, the New National Party (NNP) and the incumbent National Party (TNP) two seats each.

We are looking to provide the nation with a closely-knitted government...I am confident by today we will be on course to announce a government," Alexis told CANA. [quotation marks as received]

NDC leader and Prime Minister-designate Nicholas Brathwaite told CANA Tuesday night that the party was not interested in forming a coalition administration with just "any political party," but was prepared to work with TNP head Ben Jones or with individuals.

"We will be prepared to work with individuals who are prepared to come over to us from other parties, and I believe we should be in a position to form the government," he said. "We believe that by Thursday [15 March]...We should be in a position to advise the governor-general that we do have a majority to form the government," Brathwaite said then.

Brathwaite said his party did not really favour a coalition for Grenada "because when you are forming a coalition, you are entering into negotiations with another party... What we are proposing is to seek the cooperation or the support of individuals who could work with us in relation to our principles".

Dr. Alexis said that the results of Tuesday's polls indicated that "Grenadians were fed up with coalition governments".

"Results also show that [sentence garbled]...Seeking a monolithic government. My only expectation is that the nation will have a good government," Alexis said.

Alexis said it was important that the new administration be given at least two terms in office in a bid to ensure there is a continuation of programmes. "This nation has not had that since independence ," he added. Alexis said the NDC would be appointing independent senators likely to reflect the labour movement and the business sector in the new parliament, as the party sought to unite the population following the bitter election campaign. He predicted that local government "which would further unite the country" could be re-established in Grenada within a year.

Brathwaite, who spent Tuesday night on the Grenada sister island of Carriacou, where he won his own seat handsomely, was due to arrive in St. George's later on Wednesday.

### 'Power Brokering' Ensues

*FL1403180890 Bridgetown CANA in English 1718 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Report by George Worme and Peter Richards]

[Text] St. George's, Grenada, March 14, CANA—Early formation of a new government in Grenada following Tuesday's [13 March] general elections was stalled here Wednesday by feverish behind-the-scenes power broking by the four parties sharing the 15 parliamentary seats.

Well-informed sources told CANA that moves towards an accommodation by the National Democratic Congress (NDC), which won the largest single bloc of seats—seven—were being countered by similar overtures by the three other parties that together won the remaining eight seats.

The sources said the NDC, led by Nicholas Brathwaite, has been seeking to woo interim Prime Minister Ben Jones, whose National Party (TNP) copped two seats. Jones, the sources said, was being offered the cabinet post of foreign minister. But TNP sources told CANA that former Public Works Minister Dr. Keith Mitchell, whose New National Party (NNP) also picked up two seats, was already involved in preliminary coalition talks with both Jones' TNP and the Grenada United Labour Party (GULP) of one-time prime minister Sir Eric Gairy. The GULP boasts four seats.

In this three-way arrangement, the sources said, Jones was being offered the prime ministership. Mitchell, a former university professor, confirmed the discussions, but added: "I cannot tell you much more at this time. Maybe later you will hear more."

A GULP-NNP-TNP coalition would see Mitchell becoming deputy prime minister, the sources said. Asked by CANA to confirm this report, Mitchell declared: "I am more interested in the country at this time, I am not looking at Keith Mitchell...I am interested in the people...Those who want to see unity in the country".

Asked if national unity meant working together with the GULP and the TNP, Mitchell replied: "...I am willing to look at a formula for taking the country foward and to bringing the best government as possible; I don't want to go much further than that".

Public comments by the NDC leader that his party did not really favour a coalition, but preferred to work with individuals "who could work with us in relation to our principles" have reportedly angered some of the winning candidates he hoped to attract and could affect the negotiations, party sources said.

The executives and winning candidates of the GULP and the TNP were meeting this afternoon to study their options. Brathwaite, who will be 65 in July, had earlier expressed confidence in mustering a "comfortable majority" and his deputy, lawyer Dr. Francis Alexis predicted that "by today we will be on course to announce a government." On Wednesday morning Brathwaite was still on the ward island of Carriacou, the constituency he won handsomely in Tuesday's poll.

## Haiti

### U.S. Ambassador Adams Acclaimed by Crowd

*FL1403180790 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1400 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Yesterday, for the first time in the history of Haiti, a woman became president of the republic, even if only provisionally. [passage omitted]

Alvin Adams, U.S. ambassador in Port-au-Prince, who played an important role in obtaining General Avril's resignation and in getting the general to leave the country, was much applauded as he passed. The crowd applauded a great deal as his vehicle passed, leaving the National Palace following the installation ceremony for the new provisional president. The young people gathered in front of the National Palace watched the diplomatic corps vehicles leave, and as Adams' vehicle passed, they applauded and yelled: Loaded Donkey, Loaded Donkey. That is what people in Haiti call this diplomat. Instead of calling him Alvin P. Adams, they call him Loaded Donkey. [On 24 November 1989, upon arriving in Haiti, Alvin Adams delivered a speech in Creole in which he said: A loaded donkey does not stop. Let us get to work.] [passage omitted]

## Land Conflict Leaves 6 Dead, Many Homeless

*FL1403173690 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1150 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] There is a bloody land conflict occurring in the Artibonite Valley. At least six people have been killed and close to 2,000 people are homeless. Livestock has also been stolen. Three to four hundred houses have been set on fire. This heavy toll occurred on 13 March in Piatte and in Deluge, which is in the lower Artibonite Valley.

According to the information we have been able to obtain, peasants tried to repossess their lands from Olivier Nadal. We interviewed peasants who came to Radio Metropole to complain about this situation. According to religious organizations in the area which conducted investigations, at least six people have been killed in this affair and there are 2,000 homeless, with 300 to 400 houses burned down.

## Conflicts Continue

*FL1403203490 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Excerpts] Yesterday was a day that brought people a certain amount of satisfaction, yet it was also a day of sorrow and anxiety, for at least six people have been killed, 338 houses burned down, and 2,000 other people left destitute following an invasion [debakman] that occurred in Piatte, very near Montrouis. [passage omitted]

The national secretariat of the Justice and Peace Commission in Gonaives sent two priests to conduct an investigation in Deluge to look into this incident, and the situation is very, very serious. That is why the Gonaives Justice and Peace Commission's national secretariat issued a communique in which it makes an urgent appeal to the nation's authorities to come quickly and intervene so there will not once again be a large massacre in that area. Let us listen.

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] Following the dramatic appeal Father (Paul Anson), Montrouis parish priest, made to Radio Soleil on the morning of 13 March, we sent two priests to the scene. They have now returned and given us their own report on what just occurred in the Deluge area in Saint-Marc Commune.

We are now alerting all the authorities concerned in both Saint-Marc and Port-au-Prince, even though today is the day for the transfer of power, so we can avoid a new peasant massacre. [passage omitted]

We request, first, security for all the peasants of Piatte that they [not further identified] are still out trying to kill in the brush. Second, we appeal to the consciences of the people of Deluge and landowner Olivier Nadal and ask them to block this massacre.

Third, we ask all humanitarian organizations such as the Red Cross and others to hasten to contact the Montrouis parish priest to help the 2,000 people who are now destitute. They now have nothing to eat, nothing to wear, and are homeless. This is Father Fritz Jean, secretary general of the Justice and Peace, and Father Gilles Doroc, secretary of the body of (?cantors), who sign this communique. Thank you. [end recording]

This occurred on 12 March [date as heard] and in a report Montrouis parish priest Father Paul Anson issued that same day calling on the Red Cross to go help the approximately 2,000 people left homeless and destitute, he said that litigation over the land has been ongoing for the past four years between the people of Piatte and a man called Blanc Nadal, a millionaire. In 1989, the people of Piatte invaded the land and planted on it. Just before the harvest, Nadal came from Port-au-Prince accompanied by Avril's soldiers and recovered the land after arresting the peasants who had initiated the legal proceedings. Now Avril has left and the peasants are out to recover the land.

The section chief and his (?assistants) went to Piatte where they shot a peasant. The other peasants became angry and killed the section chief and his assistants. They burned them. Shortly afterwards, the population of Deluge, who are sharecroppers of Nadal, went to Piatte with approximately 30 soldiers. Everyone fled. They [not further identified] killed two people, and an old man was left behind very seriously wounded. There is no one to help him. They burned 338 houses with all their contents down to the ground. They killed all the livestock and destroyed all the crops, and more than 2,000 people have been left homeless and without food.

In view of this serious situation, we asked all humanitarian organizations to come see what emergency aid they could provide to the small peasant farmers suffering this calamity in Piatte. [passage omitted]

Olivier Nadal, one of the main characters in this land conflict, called Radio Soleil to give his side of the story. He said he deplores what has happened but that he is not responsible for any of it. All he knows is that he is still fighting for land that belongs to his family and to the (Demesard) family.

[Begin Olivier Nadal recording, in French] I have nothing whatsoever to do with this, however, I have, over the course of the past two or three years, defended my lands and farmers who have lived on them and worked the fields for many generations. The property in question is 900 carreaux [one carre equals 1.29 hectares] of land that does not bring in a penny. On the contrary, it costs us much more than it brings in.

All I am doing is defending a property right, and I have been fighting a legal battle in court armed with documents. I have always gone through the courts. I have never gone through crooked channels. I have never had anyone arrested. I have never paid anyone to shoot at anyone. All I am doing is my duty as proprietor. I wanted to make sure my property rights were respected, but I truly regret what has happened. I think it is regrettable.

However, I also think when citizens are stirred up against other citizens all day long, sooner or later there can be problems. And that is what has happened. And I think it is extremely regrettable. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[In a second report in this same newscast, Soleil states that "the land conflict that has broken out in Piatte and other nearby places, such as Deluge, in Montrouis Commune...is evolving today" and that the latest report, provided by Jean Gabriel and Pierre Ronald, is that the conflict between Piatte and Deluge "is showing a tendency to spread to all the nearby areas, such as the Borgne area, where four houses were burned down yesterday afternoon."]

### Situation in Capital Reportedly Normalizing

*FL1403172590 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1150 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Report from Mobile Units 15, 20, and 19 in Port-au-Prince on 14 March, in Creole]

[Excerpts] [Mobile Unit 15] [passage omitted] There is a great possibility of normal activity resuming today. We see that public transportation is functioning well this morning. [passage omitted] We have already seen some store owners and employees standing in front of stores, as if awaiting opening time. There are also many pedestrians in the streets. [passage omitted]

We heard from a peasant who had come in to the capital from Montrouis that a conflict is threatening in the Montrouis area between neighboring Deluge and (?Piatte). Many houses have already been burned down, and six people have been killed. The peasant here with us is very briefly going to tell us how things are in Montrouis at present.

[Unidentified speaker] Yes, the people of Deluge and Piatte, near Montrouis, are kind of at war. Houses have been burned down and people have been killed. As late as yesterday afternoon there were still houses burning. I would just like to inform the Red Cross that there are homeless people and people with no food out there and to ask the police to intervene and put a stop to the conflict. [passage omitted]

[Mobile Unit 20] [passage omitted] We do not know why, but today, like yesterday, students have not gone back to school. [passage omitted]

[Mobile Unit 19] The night was a long one in many neighborhoods in the capital, where people heard many shots being fired. Many people in certain Delmas neighborhoods told us they remained vigilant all night because of the significant amount of shooting from heavy weapons they were hearing. [passage omitted] The situation appears to be normalizing now along the roads we traveled, particularly along the Canape Road to Petionville and the Delmas Road, where we saw many people heading for work. [passage omitted] There is also a lot of activity around the marketplace near the bus terminals. However, we see no school children in the street.

Mobile Units 19, 15, and 20 for Radio Metropole.

### Interview With Leaders of Group of 12 Parties

*FL1503010790 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Report on interview with Dr. Louis Roy, Victor Benoit, Marc Bazin, and Rene Theodore by Nancy Roc at the installation ceremony for President Ertha Pascal Trouillot in Port-au-Prince on 13 March—italicized passages are recorded].

[Excerpts] [Roc] [passage omitted] Right before Haiti's first woman president was sworn in at the National Palace, we interviewed Dr. Roy, who told us he monitored events while in exile with much hope and concern. He said he was concerned because there are still many sectors in Haiti that do not want Haiti to return to democracy.

Are we currently living through Duvalierism's final gasps, following Prosper Avril's departure? And what exactly does 13 March represent? Dr. Roy answers.

[Dr. Roy] *These are not Duvalierism's last gasps. We are dealing with a very sick patient, but this patient is not yet dead, not yet in a coma. The patient is in the midst of convulsions.*

[Roc] What does today represent for you?

[Dr. Roy] It is a crossroads. The Haitian people have chosen to go toward democracy. If they are joined by the Army—and that is what we are expecting—we will then be able to conquer the rest. One cannot speak of unanimity anywhere. That does not exist in any country in the world. However, we would like to see the Army shoulder its responsibilities, put itself at the service of the civilian government, and lead us toward democracy.

[Roc] Do you think there must be a demacoutization, and which would be the first dossier Mrs. Trouillot should examine?

[Dr. Roy] I think she must begin by asking the Army to officially take a stand and accuse those who should be accused—for there are some. Certain people are suspected. If people are sufficiently suspected, they must be arrested and prevented from doing further damage.

[Announcer] Victor Benoit of Conacom [National Committee of the Congress of Democratic Movements], also present at this ceremony, thinks the president's essential mission is not only to organize elections but also to solve the security problem. The judiciary must therefore do its job so this government can mark the transition that announces the Haiti of tomorrow.

February 13 should be marked by joy considering the efforts extended to attain unity and the fact that this

historic day marks their success. Regarding the choice of Mrs. Trouillot, Benoit says it is a sign of the times.

[Benoit] *I think it is a sign of the times, a sign of the times. When we learned that it was a woman, the 12 reacted positively, as did the population. [sentence as heard] I think it is somewhat linked with the current success of the feminist movement. We of Conacom are not talking about equality of the sexes; we mean equality of opportunity for both men and women. Now, what exactly led us to accept...[rephrases] to choose...[changes thought] because Mrs. Trouillot simply compelled recognition. [sentence as heard] We must say, for history, that of all the members of the Court of Cassation, she was the only one who agreed to shoulder her responsibilities at this difficult moment. And we must really compliment the Haitian woman, who, through Mrs. Trouillot, let us say, agrees to carry this burden with us.*

[Announcer] MIDH [Movement for the Establishment of Democracy in Haiti] leader Marc Bazin feels the feminine gender has just won a brillant victory and the fact that a new and decisive phase in the transition to democracy is beginning with a woman is very important. However, much remains to be done, says Marc Bazin. [passage omitted]

[Bazin] *I too think the problem of security is first and foremost the Haitian Army's problem. It is up to this Army to make sure—and indeed, even in its own interest—that there are no disorganized, uncontrolled groups with weapons whose action, should it persist, would end up casting doubt on the authority of the Army itself! For there is the problem of security for civilians, for the population, a problem we care very much about of course, but there is also the question of the Army's primacy as a factor of order and stability. Mrs. Trouillot will obviously not have the means to solve the security problem. Like us, she will have to bring all her weight to bear to get Gen. Abraham and the Army to understand that the entire country expects the Haitian Army to get the upper hand over all the groups of armed civilians.*

[Announcer] Rene Theodore of the PUCH [Unified Party of Haitian Communists] feels the victory of the group of 12 and Mrs. Trouillot's appointment as head of the Republic is a victory for the Haitian people, a victory that shows the desire for change and justice of a people that has been confronting the same problems since 7 February 1986. Theodore says that with the latest events in Haiti, the transition can be carried out with the confidence of the population, a confidence made all the more symbolic by the fact that a woman has been chosen to solve the crisis. Like other leaders, Theodore also thinks the first problem that needs to be solved is that of security, and he also asks the Haitian people to remain mobilized.

[Theodore, in Creole] *The most important problem is that of security for the population. And we maintain this staunchly. Certainly the Haitian Army is now giving us more and more guarantees that it will help solve the problem of security and respect for civic rights so there can be a different kind of relationship between the military and civilians. However, we think the security of the population is primarily in its hands because the formula we adopted is a compromise formula. We drew from one of the nation's remaining institutions, which remains a Duvalierist institution and which was obstructing things. However, we believe in the perfectibility of man.* [passage omitted]

## Council of State Southeast Representative Chosen

*FL1503015590 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Excerpts] The Southeast has chosen its Council of State representative, Dr. (Newton Jeudy), who was a member of the Consultative Assembly under Namphy, but resigned from the position, as our correspondent will explain.

[Correspondent Pierre Nazon Boliere, in Creole] On the afternoon of 13 March, several socioprofessional groups, representatives of political parties and of the Catholic and Protestant Churches, observers, and the press met on the campus of College Suisse to elect a representative on the Council of State for the Southeast Department. Dr. Newton Jeudy was elected with 11 votes over Mr. (Claudie Craan's) seven votes. [passage omitted]

[Begin Jeudy recording] [passage omitted] Everyone can trust me. The minute things are going in a direction I think the Department would not like, or that is not in the Department's interest—I mean, if the same thing happens again—I will resign. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Unidentified reporter] Who is Dr. Jeudy? A child of the Southeast born on 27 March 1954 in Marigot, he was a member of the Consultative Corps [Namphy's consultative council]. He was the first person in that corps to resign in July of 1987 during the uproot-your-cassava-plants movement. He served on that council less than one month. [passage omitted]

## South Department Member Chosen

*FL1503020890 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Excerpts] [Les Cayes correspondent Joseph (Guylerset) Delva] In Les Cayes on the night of 13 March, the people of the South Department chose attorney Paul Yves Joseph to represent them on the State Council. At the initiative of the Committee for Concerted Action in Southern Haiti, a nominating meeting was held at the Marabou Night Club in Les Cayes. This meeting was attended by representatives of commerce, industry, education, the Catholic and Protestant Churches, etc. [passage omitted]

At the meeting, the committee presented criteria for the position: a Haitian who has never renounced Haitian nationality; at least 35 years old; honest and credible

with a certain understanding of political matters; an ability to express himself. [passage omitted] Other citizens were nominated but declined on the grounds that they did not wish to compete with Joseph, whom they said deserved the position.

Attorney Joseph had been arrested and mistreated on several occasions by former Haitian regimes and was a staunch opponent to the Duvalier, Namphy, and Avril regimes. [passage omitted]

### More Council Members Announced

*FL1503004390 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] We remind listeners that the 19-member [figure as heard] Council of State, composed of representatives of the nation's principal sectors and of representatives of the nation's geographical departments, is to assist the executive.

Nine members of this Council are already known: Dr. Roy, who represents the human rights organizations; attorney Ernst Malebranche for the union sector; Serge Villard for the private sector; Lesly Voltaire for the education sector; Venel Remarais for the press; Rev. Chavannes Jeune for the Protestant churches; Joel Ducasse for the socioprofessional sector; Marc Lamour for the peasants organizations; and representatives of the provinces: Dr. (Newton Jeudy) for the Department of the Southeast, and Paul Yves Joseph for the Les Cayes area [Department of the South].

### Air Traffic Controllers Threaten Work Stoppage

*FL1503002890 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Excerpts] [Unit 19 Reporter] Things are going badly right now at Ofnac, National Civil Aviation Office. The air traffic controllers have decided to stop work for the time being. A spokesman of these employees is going to tell us why [words indistinct]. [Reporter 19 switches to Creole] Frederic, can you tell our listeners why you tower controllers from the airport have decided to stop work?

[Frederic] [passage omitted] Around here there is a sort of family enterprise, a family that dominates everything, that does whatever it wants. We are always arguing with them. [passage omitted] We are a technical office, not a political office. However, they consider us a political office. They impose many things on us. We protest, but they never give us any satisfaction because they always say Haiti is a country...[rephrases] that it is a macoute government, that we will never be able to do anything, that nothing will ever change in Haiti.

[Reporter] Yes, but what exactly is your problem with the men you say you do not want here? Is it a problem of competency or what?

[Frederic] That is a problem with most of them, the majority. Only one of them, perhaps, has any knowledge of aviation. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] What exactly do you want?

[Frederic] We want them to rid us of the entire Desinor clan, all the Desinor family members and their friends who are squeezing this office, running it and sucking it dry of money. We want them out. If not, tomorrow everything will be shut down totally. There will be no air traffic. Today, out of patriotic considerations, we will allow incoming planes to land.

[Reporter] Thus, a spokesman for the Ofnac employees, who are asking that the management staff be fired. This is Mobile Unit 19 from the International Airport for Radio Metropole.

## Turks and Caicos

### Islands 'Plagued' by Illegal Haitian Immigrants

*FL1403170790 Bridgetown CANA in English 1510 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Grand Turk, Turk and Caicos Islands, March 14, CANA—The government of the British dependency of the Turks and Caicos islands has announced plans to introduce detention centres to help stop the inflow of illegal immigrants, chiefly from Haiti.

In his "throne speech" at the opening of the 13 seat legislature, Governor Michael Bradley announced that amendments would be tabled to existing immigration laws, with new methods to handle work permits and proposals to set up an immigration board.

"The islands continue to be plagued with the influx of illegal immigants, especially Haitian nationals fleeing to our shores either for political or economic reasons at home," he said.

There were no facilities to house illegal immigrants who had to be released and instructed to report to immigration officials the following day to await repatriation.

"They never show up and it is always difficult to apprehend them again," the governor said.

"Without detention centres in Grand Turk and Providenciales, all efforts to rid the islands of illegals will fail."

The governor said that the Turks and Caicos Islands' Executive Council would seek British financial assistance to help with the construction of the centres. Scores of refugees from Haiti continue to land on the islands after a dangerous 19 mile sea voyage. Many have already found jobs in the islands with the hope of eventually finding their way to the United States.

The throne speech, representing the plans for the government of Chief Minister Oswald Skippings, presented a highly optimistic appraisal of the island's economy.

The Turks and Caicos Islands depend on tourism and offshore finance to provide the main source of their income. Governor Bradley said that tourism currently brought in U.S. 3.4 million dollars a year. The number of tourists was up 1,500 on 1988 to 48,538 in 1989.

The government recently introduced new regulations for the banking and insurance industries as part of a long range plan to promote Turks and Caicos as an offshore financial centre. The British dependency faces stiff competition from the Cayman Islands and the Bahamas in this field.

Skippings, in presenting his budget following the throne speech, said that revenue in the coming year would increase to more than 30 million dollars (U.S.), leading to a small budget surplus.

The government had been able to reduce its bank overdraft from a peak of 4.2 million dollars in 1987 to 1.4 million dollars this year. The 28.5 per cent increase in revenue was largely due to tourist income linked to a big expansion in hotel development. Eight large hotels, casino, and resort projects are now underway, most of them on the island of Providenciales.

Skippings said that no new taxes would be introduced and he added that a communications tax which is expected to bring in half a million dollars this year would be repealed in April 1991. Expenditure projections are for 20.8 million dollars.

## * National Agricultural Program Goals Described

*90EM0100A Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 25, 26 Jan 90*

[Two-part article by Rosa Rojas]

**[25 Jan pp 22, 44]**

[Text] The goal of the 1990 National Agricultural Program is to plant 13.8 million hectares of the 10 main crops in 1990, "which represents a 5.8-percent increase over the preliminary results of 1989 and a decline of 9.4 percent from the average results of 1983-1988." The area of these crops over the past 3 years was 15.65 million hectares in 1987, 14.68 million in 1988, and 13.03 million in 1989.

The document, a copy of which LA JORNADA has obtained, indicates that the area proposed for the 10 main crops is supposed to yield a total of 23.9 million tons this year, "which represents an increase of 13.1 percent over the 1989 results and a 6.9-percent decline from the average results of 1983-1988."

"These planting targets represent a crop pattern that, compared to the 1983-1988 average, means less growing of basic food grains, which are down 9.3 percent. Corn and beans are down 8.9 and 7.4 percent, respectively, even though they are the top two priorities in spurring production. The other grains are also down, sorghum 13.9 percent and barley 19.2 percent. In contrast, oilseeds will be up 1.1 percent, because of increases in safflower and soybeans, which outweigh the declines in sesame and cotton."

The program notes that "nevertheless, compared to 1988 and 1989, they represent the start of a gradual upswing in the area under cultivation, equivalent to 5.8 percent of the 10 main crops, with respect to the preliminary results for 1989. Basic food grains account for 56.5 percent of the total increase of 759,000 hectares; oilseeds 24.9 percent, and the category of other grains 18.6 percent. The top priority crops are corn and beans, whose increases account for 35.8 and 61.3 percent of the total; they are offset by the declines in the crops that are strongly linked to irrigation, like rice, wheat, and soybeans."

In its diagnosis of Mexican farming the program reports that in 1989 the production of the 10 main crops totaled 21.14 million tons, 76.1 percent of the target and below the minimum for the 1983-1988 period, which was 22.57 million in 1988, the maximum being 29.59 million tons in 1985.

The lowest production of all these crops, which was 23.1 percent of the target, was due 13.7 percent to a decline in the crop area and 9.4 percent to a fall in yield.

It acknowledges that the decline in yields "is associated with natural disasters and less lending, which entails a lighter use of supplies that influence productivity."

It emphasizes that the production pattern achieved reflects the specific regional impact of natural disasters and lending for each of the main crops, as well as the planting decisions of the farmers as a function of their objectively perceived profit expectations.

It underscores later on the "the limiting influence of lower expected income, stemming from prevailing prices."

It also indicates that in 1989 the coverage of institutional lending at preferential rates, backed by the comprehensive agricultural-insurance service, for basic food grains (rice, beans, corn, and wheat) was 43.4 percent (preliminary figure); this is lower than the lowest level for the 1983-1988 period, which was 44.1 percent in 1983.

Some 4.5 million hectares qualified for credit in 1989, the previous minimum being 5.1 million in 1984. "The biggest decline here was in corn, whose area fell from 4.1 million hectares in 1985 to 2.4 million in 1989."

**[26 Jan p 25]**

[Text] The goal of the 1990 National Agricultural Program is to give priority in government action and resource allocation to the production of basic food grains so as to again grow enough rice and beans; to push wheat production near that of corn; and to boost the production of sugar and oilseeds so that we again have enough of the former and can cut imports of the latter, with emphasis on safflower and soybeans.

Moreover, it seeks to "increase the production of sorghum and fodder so as to relieve the pressure that animal consumption is exerting on corn and other grains, without forgetting to support the production of milk, eggs, and meat," and to spur the production of fruits and vegetables and ornamental plants for export.

The document, a copy of which LA JORNADA has obtained, indicates that the strategy for achieving these goals is to modernize agriculture, including, among other guidelines, a shift in the production pattern; improving the profit margin of growers by providing regional and selective incentives, and "bringing idle lands that can be farmed into production by enforcing the Agricultural Promotion Law, by eliminating or mitigating the factors that encourage the abandonment of farm land, and by giving priority consideration to producing fodder on ranches with lands that are suitable for farming."

As for prices, the statistics for the 10 main crops indicate that with 1978 as 100, the average price of the category of basic food grains for the 1983-1988 period was 97.8, dropping to just 68.5 in 1989. In the latter year the price of corn hit 74.6, beans 64.2, wheat 89.7, and rice 45.3, with respect to the 1978 level.

The average price of oilseeds from 1983 to 1988 was 97.1 with respect to 1978. In 1989 it dropped to 52.4. For

products, last year the price of safflower stood at 63.4, soybeans 42.4, sesame 54.8, and cotton seed 49, compared to the 1978 level.

The 1983-1988 average for other grains was 110.3, falling to 81 in 1989. The price of sorghum hit 65.4 and barley 96.6, with 1978 as 100.

The program sets a 1990 oilseed production goal of 1,341,000 tons, down 3 percent from the 1989 level, indicating that in so doing it is acknowledging "that it is not possible to increase everything." It underscores, however, that within this group a major effort is being made to boost the output of safflower, "which farmers prefer to grow, in light of the restrictions on the foreseeable availability of irrigation water when the delegation proposals were formulated." Last year production reached 1,382,000 tons (108.9 percent of the target), over a crop area of 916,000 hectares.

For other grains (sorghum and barley) the program sets a production target of 5,762,000 tons, up 28.9 percent from last year, which was a bad one for these crops. "The increase is due to the production-incentive priority that has been given to sorghum, to alleviate the pressure of demand for feed corn."

Moreover, as for the 20 other major crops, the crop area target is 2.9 million hectares, 9.5 percent of which is for vegetables, 6.4 percent for other oilseeds (copra and sunflower), 48.9 percent for industrial crops (cacao, coffee, sugar cane, and henequen), 17.3 percent for feed crops (alfalfa, oats, and yucca), 3.2 percent for seasonal fruits (strawberries, melons, and watermelons), and 14.7 percent for perennial fruits (avocados, limes, apples, oranges, and bananas).

The scheduled production of these 20 major crops is 74,242,000 tons, with vegetables accounting for 3,586,000; other oilseeds accounting for 194,000; industrial crops, 45,319,000; feed crops, 18,761,000; seasonal fruits, 1,088,000, and perennial fruits, 5,295,000.

As for credit, the Loan Program for 1990 seeks to support 7.7 million hectares of the 10 main crops, which represents coverage of 55.9 percent; the 1985 level was 61 percent. A coverage of 53 percent is proposed for basic food grains, with the emphasis on increase to 50.3 percent for corn.

The program proposes loans for 61.1 percent of the oilseed crop area and 69.2 percent in the case of sorghum and barley.

## * Reform Vote Seen at Root of PAN Split

### * Meeting Transcripts Cited

*90EM0094A Mexico City PROCESO No. 689 in Spanish 15 Jan 90 pp 20-25*

[Article by Gerardo Galarza. For text of October 1989 "Letter of Intent," see FBIS LATIN AMERICA DAILY REPORT of 14 Nov 89 (FBIS-LAT-89-218) pp 9-10.]

[Text] When a majority of PAN's [National Action Party] 101 federal deputies voted to reform the Constitution's electoral provisions, reason and conviction were not the main considerations. Party discipline and a show of confidence in the national leadership of Luis H. Alvarez mattered more. Very few of the lawmakers had seen the text of the measure they approved last October in the Chamber of Deputies.

A month later it was clearly seen—during an internal debate whose details PROCESO now discloses—how deeply the question of electoral reform split PAN. Of 156 members present at PAN's National Council meeting in November, only 98 voted in favor of the decision taken by the national leadership under Luis H. Alvarez.

Before the yes vote in the Chamber, the disagreement of many PAN deputies—which some made public by voting against articles in the measure—triggered urgent meetings in the alternate auditorium of the Chamber of Deputies. Luis H. Alvarez himself chaired the gatherings in which efforts were made to discuss the PAN vote. Time got in the way.

The PRI was calling the tune and keeping the beat. In an internal memorandum last June, Manuel J. Clouthier, PAN's 1988 presidential candidate, appeared to have a glimmer of what was going to happen. He wrote as PAN was battling to make the government keep its promise of calling a special session of the Congress to consider new federal election laws.

Many PAN deputies were demanding explanations and refusing to take the president of the Republic at his word. They would not accept a reform that in their judgment didn't meet PAN demands. Some even called it a counterreform. Others, with Alvarez in the lead, tried to change their mind and get them to accept the president's word. Alvarez went so far as to say "there were commitments to be kept with the government" and that for its part, the administration of Carlos Salinas de Gortari had kept its word. As examples he cited "the Mazatlan detainees," "registration of the [female] candidate in Puebla," and "the Ruffo matter."

Once the election reforms were in the Constitution, some followers and even national leaders and former leaders made their disagreement with the measure public, mainly through statements to the press. Despite all the objections and the discontent, none of the dissenters have questioned the honesty of PAN's national leaders or of the negotiators. They have talked about a political error, sometimes describing it as serious and also about a breech of party doctrine in the name of new political strategies. Within PAN analyses of the reform that contradicted the party's official position circulated with the leadership's knowledge. (PROCESO 680) There was also intraparty criticism of the dissenters for "dealing with internal matters in public." PAN opted for an in-house debate on the election reforms during the 18 and 19 November meeting of its National Council. By tradition, meetings of the body are private.

The debate in these gatherings was intense and prolonged (nearly nine hours). Much of the time was taken up by six speakers who made reports and explained to council members how the constitutional reforms worked. Although critics of the measures saw their rebuttal time reduced to 25 minutes, 51 (32.6 per cent) of the 156 council members present voted against the party's decision while seven abstained, and the remaining 98 supported it. In addition, there was unanimous support for a resolution reiterating that "the constitutional reform is only a first stage whose results are less than adequate. It is part of a legislative undertaking that must conclude with the truly democratic election code that the Mexican people demand."

Based on documents and reliable transcripts of the speeches, PROCESO reconstructed the substance of the debate within PAN over the electoral reforms to the Constitution. It produced far more heat and is more of a sore spot than is generally known.

**History of an Accord**

For PAN 1989—the year of its 50th anniversary—brought both hope and disappointment. For the first time in the political history of the country, one of its candidates was officially recognized as the winner of a state gubernatorial race. Along with this victory came control of a state legislature for the first time ever. The party was also the target of very bitter criticism from within and without for joining forces with the PRI to promulgate the electoral reforms promised by the administration of Carlos Salinas de Gortari. It sided with PRI at a time when many believed that a united legislative opposition might be able to force consideration of an electoral reform package of its own. Among themselves PAN regulars consider it an achievement to have been partners in a dialogue with the president of the Republic.

The beginning of the debate within PAN about the reform and dialogues with the president of the Republic coincided with the first presidential promise to hold a special legislative session. The purpose of the session would be to discuss political reform in the wake of a hunger strike by Clouthier.

From that time on, a group of PAN deputies (Juan Miguel Alcantara Soria, Gaudencio Vera Vera, Maria del Carmen Segura Rangel, Juan Antonio Garcia Villa, Eugenio Ortiz Walls, Jorge del Rincon Bernal, Gildardo Gomez Veronica, Juan Jose Castillo Medrano, Gerardo Arellano Aguilar, and Hiram Escudero Alvarez) worked on bills to reform the Constitution and serve as a basis for a new election law. The group drafted a total of 14 initiatives aimed at reforming the Constitution plus a proposed Election Code for the Executive and Legislative Branches of the Union (CEPLEU). PAN legislators and party stalwarts took an active role in the forums held before the Federal Election Commission [CFE] and the Chamber of Deputies.

Then its representatives on the Permanent Commission began pressuring the Salinas administration to keep its promise of holding a June congressional session. Despite their efforts, they were not successful.

At that time—21 June—Clouthier sent a three-page memorandum to the Political Commission of the PAN National Executive Committee. In it he offered "an evaluation of the meeting with Carlos Salinas de Gortari and (Interior Secretary) Fernando Gutierrez Barrios and its repercussions in the press."p

From the start Maquio [Clouthier's nickname] affirmed that "in the press it appears that as a result of the meeting PAN agrees to postponement of the special session to 1 September of this year. The impression given to the public is that there is a consensus between the executive branch and PAN." On the other hand, the memo stated, "internally everything seemed in order to start taking action to pressure the administration to keep the promise it made last December....This was the thrust of statements to the press on 8 and 5 June as well as of the action that followed: the walkout of PAN representatives on the CFE Special Settlement Commission."

Clouthier added that the publicly acknowledged reason for PAN's change of tactics was a realization that lack of consensus could thwart attempts at election reform. And he warned: "We should analyze the validity of this argument. In the first place it is doubtful that the regime does not have a clear idea of how it wants to change the election laws. The proposals they accepted in Chihuahua show they are willing to make secondary concessions but are not about to give up one-party control of such electoral bodies as the Federal Election Commission and the Electoral College. To do so would be the first step towards real loss of power for the authoritarian regime." (Months later, these two elements were part of the arguments PAN dissenters used to criticize the decision of their national leadership and the federal deputies.)

In his text, Clouthier underlined: "It is not so much that the government has nothing to propose but that they are waiting for the most opportune time to unveil and impose what they propose." He further noted: "It is clear the months of June and July are timely for us and untimely for them. This is one of a number of reasons why the 1 June date was squeezed out of them under pressure of actions in support of democratic demands last December."

He added two more circumstances that bore upon the concept of timeliness and "relative negotiating power": "1.-Negotiation of the foreign debt with creditor banks, which will be complicated if a flare-up of internal strife revives questions about the regime's democratic legitimacy and the country's political stability;" and "2.-Preparation and execution of the customary frauds, this time in Baja California, Chihuahua, Durango, and

Michoacan. Their denunciation during the special session would strengthen the opposition demand that legislative steps be taken to prevent continuation of these frauds."

The former PAN presidential candidate came to the following conclusion: "These months are favorable for PAN and unfavorable for the regime. Thus, agreeing to postponement of the special session was an error on our part and a relative victory for the regime. This will make it harder to win acceptance of the essence of our proposals in September.

"This is a long way from facilitating a consensus on terms favorable to democratic progress. To a certain degree it has made the job of derailing 'consensus' easier for the authoritarian regime." Clouthier said "one lost battle does not mean the war is lost although it is dangerous to continue handing the regime victories without putting a price on them."

The internal debate continued. On Monday, 10 July, the Permanent Commission of the PAN National Council met to consider the party's stance on election reform. It produced a document that included what "PAN deems to be the basic requirements for democratization or real steps towards democratization of the Mexican political system." The first point this document made was that "a new election law must be drafted with the concurrence of all political parties." There followed a list of demands the new legislation should meet: multipartisan electoral bodies from the CFE down to the precinct free from control by any party or coalition; selection of officials at polling places from ballots drawn up by the parties; citizen identification cards with photographs and a new voter roll listing bearers of these cards; impartial electoral tribunals; voluntary party membership; and other demands synthesized in the seven basic points demanded by PAN.

The special session was called for 28 September. It began without any consensus among the political parties. Time passed, and no consensus developed. The special session was to end with no possibility of extension on 20 October PAN and PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] led the opposition; the makeup of the Chamber of Deputies prevented PRI from imposing a reform of its own. The negotiations continued. Among legislators, analysts, and political parties there was virtual certainty that there would be no election reform. But it turned out there was.

PAN, after negotiating with the president of the Republic, the interior secretary, and other political parties decided to join forces with PRI and push for constitutional reforms. The other opposition parties and political commentators regarded the measure as a counterreform.

There was also resistance within PAN. One deputy, Felix Bueno Carrera, persisted in voting no throughout the debate in the Chamber. Others—about 30—voted no when there were role calls on points to which they had specific objections. Former national leaders (Jesus Gonzalez Schmal, Pablo Emilio Madero, Jose Gonzalez Torres, Jorge Eugenio Ortiz Gallegos among others) aired their disagreement in press statements. Gonzalez Schmal, Ortiz Gallegos, Gonzalez Torres, and Jose Angel Conchello compared the bill as it passed with the reforms that the PAN proposal would have achieved. In a written report, they found the balance totally unfavorable to their party. That report (PROCESO 680) only circulated inside PAN, and its four authors sent a letter to Luis H. Alvarez informing him of its distribution.

Previously the main PAN negotiators had publicly explained their motives for lending support to the constitutional reforms. They believed they had achieved all that could be achieved. In addition, they had a "letter of intention" from the administration. It pledged that PAN's proposals for secondary legislation, due to come before the Chamber in April, would serve as the basis for debate at that time. In brief, they said: We trust the president's word; he has not let us down (PROCESO 677).

And the internal debate was postponed so it could take place before the PAN National Council. The matter was included in the order of the day. On 13 November, the CEN [National Executive Committee] adjunct secretary general, Cecilia Romero, sent a memorandum to Deputies Gerardo Medina, Juan Miguel Alcantara, Bernardo Batiz, Alberto Ling, and Gildardo Gomez Veronica. It also went to Diego Fernandez de Cevallos, PAN representative on the CFE. The letter asked those who received it to address the Council of the following topics: political background of the reform (Medina); chronology of actions (Batiz); legal foundation (Alcantara); article 54 (Ling); letter of intention (Fernandez); and conclusions and expectations (Gomez).

The Council meeting at PAN's Mexico City offices in Colonia [urban neighborhood] Condesa was, as always, private. There was an air of anticipation both within and without. Discussion of the reforms was among the last matters listed on the Council's schedule although many had expected it to come immediately after the CEN chairman's report.

There were protests. Alvarez said that once he finished his report, he would propose changing the order of the day. The assembly approved. Alvarez stepped aside to let Gabriel Jimenez Remus, PAN state leader for Jalisco, chair the debate. It was agreed to begin with six opening arguments (three for and three against) to be followed by three further rounds. These would include a deliberation phase with two speakers per side after which each side would be given eight minutes for a final statement.

**Alvarez on the Defensive**

In practice the debate began with the report from Luis H. Alvarez. In his speech Alvarez recounted the year's political and administrative activities, discussing internal organization, participation, and triumphs at the polls. He also analyzed the country's political situation

as it related to PAN activities. He spoke of the dialogue with the president of the Republic and what he regarded as PAN's cultural victory in getting the party's democratic ideas recognized in several other political quarters. It was not long before he began talking about the problem of reforming the Constitution: "We have advanced a step at a time without giving in to desperation. We have endured election frauds, repression, stalled legislative initiatives, partial victories, lies, high-handedness, caricature, and humiliation. Today it comes as a surprise when we are sometimes criticized as gradualists. The party's historical memory tells us it was through gradual changes, including climbs up stairways of electoral fraud, that we have achieved what we have."

He went on to reiterate what PAN officially regards as advances gained by the reforms to the Constitution. "It is clear that not everything we hoped for was achieved. It must be noted on the one hand that further steps remain to be taken while on the other we did indeed gain much of what we were hoping for."

Finding himself on the defensive, Alvarez also said: "It is true that from a certain viewpoint, the regime needed us to get a constitutional reform. It is also true that if one were not achieved, the legislative branch would get the blame for failing. Either the parties would have been blamed or PRI would have gotten whatever suited its whim with the complicity of their customary allies. It is equally true, as our deputies and our commissioner can testify, that the PRD sought only to thwart any reform whatsoever until after the president's state of the nation address."

The PAN national leader added: "In another order of ideas, let us not forget that our actions on the national scene can hurt PAN governments in municipalities and the state of Baja California. We must remember that what is at stake is the possibility of an opposition government, and our eventual failure would be a blow not just to PAN but also to the cause of democracy in Mexico."

He gave his own summary of how the reform had progressed and went so far as to say: "What is most lamentable in all this is that our adversaries have fed on the public statements of our party members. Nobody requires them to speak in unison. They are asked only to conform with our custom of airing differences internally before dealing with them outside the party." He continued in this vein.

Alvarez said there had been attacks and also "serious accusations" levelled at his aides since he took over the reins of the party. However, no proof was ever presented. "Most recently, the party chairman's office has been publicly accused of being an accomplice to the alleged handover of PAN to business and civic groups. It has been charged with making doctrinal and ideological compromises in the interests of pragmatism and hunger for power....It has been affirmed or publicly insinuated that the party leadership and its legislative whips have betrayed the doctrinal principles and even the history of PAN."

This theme and the same tone prevailed through most of the Alvarez speech. He said PAN has not strayed from its doctrinal principles and called for unity and harmony.

Then came the information session. Bernardo Batiz, the deputy who is also PAN's assistant legislative whip, reviewed the well-known chronology of the constitutional reform process from its beginning to its denouement. Then he got to what he himself termed "the critical period." It began, Batiz said in his speech, on Monday 9 October, when the PAN National Council ratified the seven basic points on which its negotiators could accept the reform. Juan Miguel Alcantara reported two and a half points had been accepted but negotiations were still under way. "The CEN insisted, and it was so agreed, that negotiations could continue but there would be no backing down on the seven points."

**A Night Meeting**

On Tuesday 10 October, Batiz went on, "a group of five or six deputies" met with Luis H. Alvarez. (In another speech, Fernandez de Cevallos identified those involved as Rodolfo Elizondo Torres, Vicente Fox Quezada, and Jose Antonio Gandara Terrazas.) Batiz said the group asked Alvarez "to raise the pressure to get the reform—which at the time appeared to have bogged down—moving ahead." (Fernandez de Cevallos later swore,"I know it for a fact," that two days earlier a group of deputies and Abel Vicencio and Alvarez himself "decided this was no time to be asking for a meeting with the president of the Republic." But later,"approximately 48 hours later," the group of deputies insisted "not only that the pressure be stepped up but also that a meeting with Salinas de Gortari be requested immediately.")

Batiz continued his account: "For this purpose our chairman asked for a meeting with Salinas. Despite the fact that he was leaving for Central America (Peru actually) early the next morning, he received a delegation from PAN at 10:30 p.m. In this meeting, President Salinas remarked that PAN was backing out of the process. He also suggested drafting what he called a letter of intention spelling out the points PAN was trying to include in the election law. He also instructed the interior secretary to get the reform moving ahead."

"The final hours of the process," according to the Batiz address, began the morning of Saturday 14 October, "under pressure of time." A session of the National Executive Committee was suspended when the Interior Secretariat called to request a meeting with PAN to discuss "the final details of the bill." Those who attended were Abel Vicencio, Bernardo Batiz, Juan Miguel Alcantara, Juan Antonio Garcia Villa, Carlos Castilla Peraza, and Diego Fernandez de Cevallos. Representing the government were: Interior Under Secretary Manlio Favio Beltrones; PRI deputy Jose Luis Lamadrid, secretary of the Chamber's Commission on Internal Affairs

and Constitutional Issues [CGPC]; and Arturo Nunez, an official of whom Batiz said "I don't know if he's with PRI or the Interior Secretariat or both." In his later speech, Fernandez de Cevallos asserted that some matters "were discussed in the hallways of the Interior Secretariat" for all intents and purposes among PAN members only.

The PAN council members continued listening to Batiz. On Sunday 15 October, Jose Luis Lamadrid handed a draft version of the reform bill to Vicencio and Batiz at 11 a.m. in the Chamber. Deputies Alcantara, Garcia Villa, and Batiz himself reviewed it and counted 15 points which did not square with what had been agreed to. They and other PAN deputies on the floor were outraged. Several wanted to "take advantage of the occasion to denounce the pact or deal and blame them for not keeping their end of the bargain." They wanted to do this, according to Batiz, because it was evident that the government had failed to respect the terms that had been agreed upon. Fernandez de Cevallos was present, and upon learning what had happened "made an immediate phone call to Undersecretary Beltrones in the presence of a group of deputies." He reported that Beltrones would issue appropriate instructions to Lamadrid. Alcantara and Fernandez de Cevallos drafted a memorandum listing the points with which they disagreed. They sent one copy to Lamadrid and faxed another, by Fernandez de Cevallos' account, to the Interior Secretariat.

The CGPC met the night of Sunday 15 October. Eight PAN deputies who belonged to the commission were present. Other deputies, "the majority," according to Batiz, listened while Fernandez de Cevallos gave his version of what was in the reforms. During the commission meeting, the bill was passed out. Meanwhile, "as the secretary read the extremely long list of whereases, Deputy Americo Ramirez, who had no knowledge of the bill or of the prior arrangements...expressed his disagreement with the terms on which the reform would be carried out." The PAN members met among themselves. Garcia Villa and Batiz proposed that the bill not be approved. Garcia suggested setting as a precondition for a yes vote that the letter of intent be signed by someone. They debated among themselves, then got Lamadrid out of the meeting. Lamadrid told them he could not make the decision. The PAN deputies abstained from voting on the bill which only drew support from PRI members of the CGPC. Before adjourning, the PAN deputies gave their whip, Vicencio, a vote of confidence and on a call "from one of their number" a round of applause.

In his speech Fernandez de Cevallos disclosed that at 4 a.m. on Monday 16 October, "the interior secretary called to tell me that after the administration and PRI had rectified those 14 points to PAN's satisfaction, it came as a shock when the commission voted and our party—in their view inexplicably—abstained. He demanded an explanation of this and the kind of political conduct that characterized PAN throughout its 50-year history. He insisted that as interior secretary he had kept his word about rectifying the 14 points and demanded that PAN keep its commitment. The following morning I felt the need to get up before the Secretariat and the assembled deputies to demand on my own behalf, for the good of the party, and the honor of each and every one of us that we stick to our commitment in the name of basic common sense and personal honesty."

The Chamber of Deputies was scheduled to meet on Monday 16 October. In the alternate auditorium no one knew for sure if PAN would support the reforms or not following the events of the night before. Luis H. Alvarez was conspicuous by his presence in the PAN offices.

According to the version heard by the PAN council members, from 10 to 12 deputies met in the party's legislative offices that morning (Vicencio, Batiz, Elizondo, Alcantara, Castillo Peraza, Garcia Villa, Americo Ramirez, Luisa Maria Calderon, and Norberto Corella among others) with Alvarez and Fernandez de Cevallos. Disputes ensued. Time was running out, and "the party chairman made the definitive final arguments. Americo Ramirez made his discordant viewpoint clear but added he would vote for the reform in the name of party discipline."

Shortly afterwards the majority of PAN's legislative delegation met in an auditorium at the Centro Medico. "All 101 of us weren't there, but there were probably more than 90." This meeting was also "hurried because the roll was already being called on the floor. The high points of the gathering were:

"Deputy Carlos Castillo noted that it was not just some articles of the Constitution that were at stake in the midst of so many arguments. Also on the line were the six-year governorship of Ruffo and the word of the party in addition to some other matters. Deputy Batiz said he didn't think the reform satisfied the seven minimum points approved by the National Executive Committee. Deputy Gerardo Medina unsuccessfully proposed drawing up a list of speakers for and against to debate our vote. Legislative whip Abel Vicencio warned that time was running out—the role call was at r or s—and asked for a show of hands by those in favor of the bill. Most of the deputies raised their hands in what amounted to a new vote of confidence. They had no knowledge of the bill, and it had not been debated at length. The meeting ended, and we returned to the Chamber where deliberations were about to begin. The bill was read and handed out to the deputies in written form."

In the PAN delegation there was "widespread concern among deputies hearing for the first time the harsh terms of the bill and discovering its real content. They knew of the excellent work done previously by Deputy Alcantara, the bills introduced by PAN, the CEPLEU, but all that had little to do with what they were hearing or reading." A motion was made to waive a second reading of the bill, and the floor was thrown open to immediate debate.

"The instructions from the legislative whips, among whom I include myself, were that the vote should be affirmative."

Batiz ended his account by telling the PAN council members that in the vote approving the reform in general one of the party's deputies abstained, and another voted no (Bueno Carrera). On Tuesday 10 October, he and Garcia Villa called for modification of the bill during a debate on its particulars. The move won total support from the opposition but not from PRI. Several deputies took part in the debate and, Batiz said, "the arguments against some of the articles were evident, but we voted to approve by a majority." He added: "We didn't all vote to approve. The reformed articles passed despite opposition or abstention by many PAN deputies who by one journalist's count numbered 32 or 33 at most."

After hearing all the explanations, the PAN National Council got ready for the debate. The first round of speakers for and against took the floor. The rest did not because a council member moved that the body declare discussion on the matter sufficient as it stood, and the motion carried. When the tally ended on Saturday night, 19 November, seven of the 156 council members who remained at the meeting had abstained. Of the rest, 51 voted against and 98 in favor of the decision of the party and its legislative delegation on the constitutional reforms.

A group of 11 federal deputies (Magdaleno Gutierrez Herrera, Juan Jose Hernandez Trejo, Gaudencio Vera Vera, Jose de Jesus Miramontes Jimenez, Jorge Galvan Moreno, Luis Alberto Delgado Esteva, Arturo Ocampo Villalobos, Regulo Fernandez Rivera, Ruth Olvera Neto, Ceferino Ramos Nuno, and Eleazar Cervantes Medina), most of whom are not National Council members, drafted and signed—on 17 November—a letter to the body explaining their stand. The letter was not delivered to the National Council. However, copies circulated among some members.

In the letter "the undersigned" reveal that from the start of the election reform process "the legislative delegation as a whole was never involved, just a working group. This generated disagreement and, it must be recognized, apathy." They asked why so little information circulated inside the party and expressed surprise at the failure to involve public opinion.

They wrote: "But the gravest error at this stage was letting PRI and its negotiators slowly involve us in marching to their tune and at their pace. And this is how the days slipped past" until the special session opened, and the one thing anybody knew for sure was that no agreement had been reached. "The prevailing sentiment among a great many of our colleagues was dissatisfaction, but they realized the need to move the reform ahead was not PAN's alone. It was even more urgent for the party needing to legitimize itself.

"And this is what some of our negotiators refused to see since they were convinced that up to that time the government had not let us down. The 'naivete and good faith' of our people were exploited by the shrewdness of government representatives who were thus able to lead us on until the session's final week." At that time, they say, they were convinced it was better to forego reform because the concessions the government was willing to make were inadequate. "Given this situation, a group of deputies uninformed about the pace of negotiations took the initiative of starting talks with the national leadership. This in our judgment is what led to the precipitous turn of events that followed. An untimely visit to Salinas increased the pressure on our negotiators who had already endured several months of gruelling work." They hold that the day the reform was voted on "we were consulted in general" but "the arguments of those in opposition were not listened to. Lingering unrest forced the party chairman to appear in support of the decision and to say that a commitment had been made and that we had to approve it."

"Later some colleagues who voiced their opposition were reprimanded by others claiming that by not voting for the bill we'd be jeopardizing Baja California. In the end the bill was approved, and now we all know the widely questioned results. To some they are more negative than positive as is the political cost to the party." Then, by way of conclusion, they summarize the letter's contents and state: "We accept the need for dialogue but never the need to act under pressure, as happened on the Baja California issue, when we know we have won." They close by calling the reform as approved a counterreform.

Deputy Americo Ramirez does not belong to the National Council, but his name came up often in speeches before the body. Upon learning of this, Ramirez wrote to Luis H. Alvarez on letterhead stationery with copies to members of the Council.

"Concerning these references to me, I am struck by your stated failure to recall the conversation you held with several of us in the office of the PAN legislative delegation." And "for the sole purpose of clearing up any misunderstanding, allow me to point out to you that during this conversation it was resolved that we would vote for those reforms....This was prior to the meeting you held minutes later with all the PAN deputies in the room in the upper part of the hall.

"In the earlier meeting I stated that the reform bill contained nothing good for democracy and that for every alleged good there was an ill. When I told you this, your reply to me was that there were commitments to the administration that must be kept.

"You also said the administration of President Salinas was very true to its word and had kept all its commitments. You mentioned among other instances 'the detainees in Mazatlan,' 'the registration of candidates in Puebla,' and 'the situation with Ruffo.'

"When I specifically pointed out to you that they were not keeping their word on election reform, you replied: It so happens that I have given my word to the president of the Republic."

In a subsequent passage, Ramirez, a multimember district deputy from Nuevo Leon, insisted: "It doesn't seem right to me to present our acceptance of the constitutional reforms as the fruit of study, deliberation, and approval by the PAN legislative delegation.

"It is clear that without the recommendation of the national leadership and the vote of confidence in you, 92 deputies would not have supported the bill without at least familiarizing themselves with its text," Ramirez wrote before affixing his signature.

### * Letters From PAN Leaders

*90EM0094B Mexico City PROCESO No. 690 in Spanish 22 Jan 90 pp 6-11*

[Article by Gerardo Galarza]

[Text] "I never gave my word to anybody" during the process of reforming the Constitution's election clauses. "What I did point out and now reiterate is that I can state that, when the current federal administration has made a specific commitment to the party, it has kept its promise." These are the words of Luis H. Alvarez, chairman of the National Executive Committee [CEN] of the National Action Party [PAN]. "I have never demanded nor will I ever demand a vote on the basis of party discipline." In speaking to PAN deputies, "I held that if they themselves believed the bill had been modified as they requested, their vote should reflect this and the dictates of their consciences." Alvarez made these points in a letter to Julio Scherer Garcia, director of PROCESO. He was responding to last week's report on the PAN National Council meeting that debated the party's decision to support election reforms to the Constitution.

In another letter, PAN deputy and national council member Felipe Calderon Hinojosa claims otherwise. The party's decision to support the reforms which, says Hinojosa, "I don't agree with," was "never a personal one." He adds: "I know for a fact that it was made in strict accordance with the procedures of institutional decisionmaking." He says the letter of Deputy Americo Ramirez to Luis H. Alvarez is "terribly untruthful when it quotes Alvarez as saying 'there are commitments to be kept to the government.' Deputy Ramirez is telling a dirty lie."

According to reliable transcripts of the PAN National Council's closed-door debate, a long period of clarifications and questions followed the report on the reform by Bernardo Batiz. The session featured detailed recitations of dates, times, names, and situations as well as allusions to deep-seated problems. The chronology given by Batiz was generally found to be "correct" although he did accept some clarifications while refuting others.

In the course of this long discussion, it became clear at the very least that the information PAN deputies had about the bill was insufficient when it passed. Also well established was the following: The idea of asking for a meeting with President Carlos Salinas de Gortari originated with a group of deputies; it was Salinas who proposed the so-called letter of intent; and PAN felt PRI and the administration forced acceptance of their timetable. In addition, PAN had the clear sense that the constitutional reforms were the work of the executive branch and not the PRI deputies. Nuances aside, most PAN politicians were not satisfied with the reforms as they passed.

The PAN council members also learned something about the 14 or 15 points which nearly caused PAN legislators to break their agreement to support the bill. These points turned out to have nothing to do with the seven basic demands the party had originally insisted upon. They were actually "unfair play," "pranks," and "tricks" that PRI tried to slip into the bill as previously agreed to by PAN and the Interior Secretariat.

In his replies, Batiz held to his earlier opinion that PAN was acting "under pressure." Time was "probably" running out, he said, and President Salinas added another constraint by saying PAN was "backing out" of the agreement. Concerning the discussion between Deputy Americo Ramirez and Luis H. Alvarez, Batiz said he had no recollection.

#### Two Letters

The letter from the chairman of the PAN National Executive Committee to this weekly sheds light on the party's internal debate. It is reproduced in its entirety:

Mexico, D.F., 18 January 1990, Mr. Julio Scherer

Mr. Director: This letter concerns the report of Gerardo Galarza in the journal you direct under the title "Party Discipline Takes Precedence over Conviction. Debate Proves Election Reform Divided PAN Supporters." It seems relevant and fair for me to make the following clarifications. 1) The article transcribes word for word the views of some National Council members who reported to the body on the circumstances that led to passing the first stage of the election reform. Clearly, a piece of the sort signed by Mr. Galarza cannot include everything that was said. However, it seems to me he gives preference and more space to views opposed to the decision of the PAN legislative delegation. He further seems to omit the replies and arguments of council members whose views were favorable and who, after all, were in the majority.

2) The story's headline says "a debate proves the election reform divided PAN followers" and that "discipline took precedence over conviction." In this regard, allow me to note that debates show lack of unanimity in any group. However, the result of a debate—which in this case was broad and freely and democratically conducted—shows where the group can reach consensus on

the points at issue. The result of this debate was made public when the council meeting ended. Although public opinion is well aware of this, it bears repeating particularly since the final document was drawn up by a special commission of six council members, three of whom held one view while the other three held the opposing view. I refer to Jose Gonzalez Torres, Jose Angel Conchello Davila, Fernando Gomez Mont, Diego Fernandez de Cevallos, Juan Miguel Alcantara Soria, and Daniel de la Garza.

Of the 156 council members the reporter accurately records as present, the document prepared by this commission—that is, the result of the debate—was approved by 142. Only one person declined to approve it, and there were 13 abstentions. The text thus approved establishes, among other things, the following:

a) The council by a two-thirds majority of those present ratified the decisions and actions of the National Executive Committee and the deputies with respect to the constitutional reforms.

b) The council unanimously reiterated that the constitutional reform is only a first stage with insufficient results. It is part of a legislative effort which must conclude with passage of the truly democratic election code the Mexican people are clamoring for.

c) The council took unanimous note that the following advances were achieved: constitutional recognition of the right of all Mexican citizens to free and peaceful association in dealing with their nation's political affairs; the constitutional obligation of authorities to conduct the business of all electoral bodies in public; creation within the framework of the Constitution of a national citizens' register and identity card; a better definition of the powers and functions of electoral bodies; a constitutionally assured system of challenges to guarantee the legality of electoral processes; and constitutional adoption of a jurisdictionally weighted system of election ratification with implicit progress towards eliminating electoral colleges.

3) The reporter mentions a memorandum of Manuel Clouthier and says he sent it to the party's Political Commission. Mr. Clouthier did in fact prepare a draft memorandum which he submitted to several people—members and nonmembers of PAN—prior to sending it to the commission. However, he never prepared a definitive version of the document, and he never presented it to the commission. Some of the ideas in the memorandum were discussed in meetings of very diverse character. After speaking with some of the deputies in the group in charge of the reform process, I can assure you that Mr. Clouthier modified more than a few of the initial propositions in the draft document.

4) My personal intervention in the constitutional reform process was limited to requesting—when PAN deputies explicitly asked me to do so—a meeting with Salinas de Gortari. I then participated in that meeting in support of the deputies' points of view. When speaking before the deputies, I said that if in their personal opinions the bill had been modified as they requested, their vote should reflect this and the dictates of their consciences. I even pointed out that I am neither a lawyer nor a jurist and could hardly make a recommendation on how they should vote. On the other hand, I never gave my word to anybody on this matter. What I did point out and now reiterate is that I can state that when the current federal administration has made a specific commitment to the party, it has kept its promise. I have never demanded nor will I ever demand a vote on the basis of party discipline. Proof of this is that there were deputies who voted against the reform both in general and in its particulars, and none could say he was taken to task for his decision. And one thing more: All I asked of the PAN deputies was that they not allow themselves to be swayed by the ideas of other legislators with conflicting goals or by the opinions of others.

Finally, I wish to note that while some inside and outside PAN think the election reform was not a reform, others equally entitled to make up their own minds think differently. The issue was debated inside the party with the outcome that I previously indicated. The only democratic way to make group decisions when opinions differ is to argue the point in question and then vote. This is what we did and will continue to do. It is normal for some to be dissatisfied with the decision of the majority, but the majority still rules. To make sure the minority viewpoint was not overlooked, the PAN National Council decided to draft a consensus document. It passed by the margin previously indicated.

In a democratic party such as ours it is normal for those who dissent from the final result to express their views and set forth their arguments in hopes that they will prevail. My conduct and that of the current party leadership is subject—and fortunately so—to the judgment of the PAN National Council. For 50 years, members of this body have demonstrated enough maturity and democratic spirit for the party to keep faith with itself and the Mexican people.

Signed Luis H. Alvarez.

The full text of the letter from Felipe Calderon Hinojosa is as follows:

Mr. Julio Scherer, Director of PROCESO

Number 689 of your prestigious journal carries an article by reporter Gerardo Galarza headlined "Debate Proves Election Reform Divided PAN Followers." My comments on it are as follows:

The article mainly alludes to the debate freely and respectfully carried on during last November's meeting of the PAN National Council. However, there is nothing in the article about what was said during the debate. There are quotes from documents read before the Council, but the debate that grew up around them disproved much of their contents. This was especially true in regard to the document read by Bernardo Batiz.

Out of respect for your readers and my fellow council members I shall only talk about the clarifications I offered during the meeting. I hope it does not prove necessary to clarify such other questions as, for example, the attitude of some of the deputies quoted towards each and every act that Maquio (1988 PAN presidential candidate, the late Manuel Clouthier) committed or attempted to commit with regard to political reform.

The report says "This period began, Batiz said in his speech, on Monday 9 October, when the PAN National Council ratified the seven basic points on which its negotiators could accept the reform. Juan Miguel Alcantara reported two and a half points had been accepted but negotiations were still under way." The report supports this with a direct quote from the document: "The CEN insisted, and it was so agreed, that negotiations could continue but there would be no backing down on the seven points."

This statement attributed to Bernardo Batiz and reproduced as true is false. It is true that in its meeting of Monday 9 October, the CEN ratified and ordered continuation of the negotiations. It is a lie to say this was conditioned on "no backing down from the seven points."

What actually happened is that some of us on the Committee proposed breaking off the negotiations and radicalizing the party's demands. Others, beginning with Batiz himself, insisted the party should make concessions on some points in order to get as much as possible on others. By that time we already knew what the definitive position of the PRI would be on the main points of the reform—legal provisions favoring the ruling party, overrepresentation and predetermined majorities, electoral colleges, etc.

I wish to stress this since attempts have been made to blame the national leadership for a decision that was never a personal one. It is very true that I don't agree with the decision, but I know for a fact that it was made in strict accordance with the procedures of institutional decisionmaking.

The same article quotes a letter from Deputy Americo Ramirez which is terribly untruthful when it quotes Alvarez as saying 'there are commitments to be kept to the government.' Deputy Ramirez is telling a dirty lie. What's more, his letter has been widely distributed by unscrupulous people. I got one copy of it by mail, for example, and another reached me and others in the offices of the Regional Committee for the Federal District.

Much remains to be cleared up in the wake of a defamation campaign unleashed against the party and even by some party members in the print media. I am in no way claiming that there are inaccuracies on the reporter's part. But whoever got the documents to him without the pertinent—and unrefuted—clarifications of the Council lacks the civil valor to give his name. It is someone who doesn't care about the party and is only looking out for his own personal or group interests, especially since this person violated our statutes and rules of discretion. These documents could only have been in the hands of the Political Commission or the speakers.

I am very sorry that after the internal crisis that nearly destroyed PAN 14 years ago the same people are using such dirty methods to obtain positions of power.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

Signed, Felipe Calderon Hinojosa

**The Internal Debate**

The round of clarifications came after Deputy Bernardo Batiz finished his report to the PAN National Council on the party's role in reforming the electoral provisions of the Constitution. When the speakers already mentioned finished, Batiz took the floor again, then there was a 45 minute recess to eat. When dinnertime ended, several council members asked questions. Discussion on the topic lasted a total of nearly nine hours. Night had already fallen when a brief formal debate took place. It lasted about 50 minutes during which six speakers—three to a side—argued for and against approving the party's decision on the reform. When the question was put to a vote, the results were 98 (62.8 percent) in favor of approval and 51 (32.6 percent) against with seven abstentions. The following day, Sunday 19 November, the text released to the public was approved by a vote of 142 in favor, 13 abstentions, and one opposed. The first speaker after Batiz was Luis H. Alvarez. He disclosed that he asked for the meeting with the president of the Republic at the request of a group of deputies since "it had never crossed my mind to ask for one." He went to PAN's offices in the Chamber of Deputies because party whip Abel Vicencio "told me he thought it would help if I went with him," Alvarez said. While in the Chamber, Alvarez listened to several opinions, but "to tell the truth, I don't recall hearing from Deputy Americo Ramirez." (This remark was the main reason for the letter from Ramirez.) Based on his own experience, Alvarez simply expressed his view that the federal administration had lived up to its commitments to PAN. Alvarez said the letter of intention was the idea of President Salinas de Gortari himself. The president told the PAN delegation he was aware that some of their followers were doubtful. Salinas, according to Alvarez, recognized their concern that once the Constitution was modified, the PRI and the government might implement an "unsatisfactory reform."

Immediately afterwards, Abel Vicencio said that in his judgment Batiz's chronology was "correct," but he added some details concerning dates and times. The legislative leadership had intended to make the bill available to all the deputies the night of Sunday 15 October, and a meeting was called for this purpose, Vicencio reported. "But there was no such bill" because

the Internal Affairs and Constitutional Issues Commission failed to provide it. However, by Monday 16 October, Vicencio said most PAN deputies "already knew the general terms" of the document. "For precisely this reason, they decided to vote for it. After all, what kind of deputies do we have? It would be absurd to suppose that without knowing anything they would say, yes, let's vote for the bill, a bill they hadn't seen." Concerning Salinas' promise, Vicencio said "we certainly couldn't feel confident. Nor, as I've said repeatedly, do I feel confident. In a way I am a dissenter, as, perhaps, some deputy of ours has put it...we're not about to believe that someone who has power is going to bestow it on someone who doesn't just because of a legislative reform. We must obtain ever more instruments for use in the struggle, and I sincerely believe that what was obtained was an advance."

After Vicencio, Luisa Maria Calderon and Rodolfo Elizondo spoke. The two had joined with Vicente Fox, Jose Antonio Gandara, Norberto Corella, and Mario Leal Campos in asking Alvarez to arrange a meeting with President Salinas to push for progress on the reform. They had gone to Alvarez, they explained, in order to put themselves at his service for any job that needed to be done. They made three suggestions: the meeting with Salinas de Gortari; having deputies who were directly involved in the deliberations explain the content of the reforms; and a program of citizen action to keep the negotiations moving ahead. Deputy Calderon explained that her group went to Alvarez in the belief that it was "important to force a change of pace on the PRI because time was very much on the PRI's side." Elizondo said that at the very least Americo Ramirez knew sooner than other deputies which points were challenged and rectified in the bill. On Sunday night, 15 October, according to Elizondo, Ramirez was at a meeting with Vicencio and 15 or 16 other deputies.

When the clarifications ended, Batiz thanked those offering them and acknowledged that confusion could have arisen about dates and the number of deputies at the meetings. "I understand that Americo was at the Monday morning meeting (16 October). In fact, that's when he got upset at being brushed off. He walked out saying he didn't give in to scoundrels, meaning PRI or the government, but that as a matter of party discipline he would vote for the bill," Batiz said.

**Batiz Questioned**

Twenty-two PAN council members signed the list to question Batiz, and there were questions of all sorts. The queries sought additional information, clarifications, and comparisons. They raised legal and legislative points and asked about the negotiations with the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution]. One issue stood out: Did the PAN National Executive Committee in fact tell its negotiators not to back down from the minimum and basic seven points in the search for real political reform? And did the 14 or 15 points that the PRI deputies modified and then corrected in the bill as it was approved have anything to do with the first seven points?

In his reply to Daniel de la Garza, Batiz said the seven basic points were "first settled on by the deputies and then ratified by the CEN." In brief the points were: establishment of an impartial electoral body; a system of due process for election challenges; a National Register of Citizens; an Electoral Tribunal to replace electoral colleges as the arbiter of elections; prohibition of the use of public funds for partisan purposes; prohibition of corporate memberships in political parties; and a requirement that meetings of electoral bodies be public. These points, Batiz said, "have practically nothing to do with the 14 pranks or tricks" in the draft bill presented by the PRI deputies. He said these 14 changes consisted of modifying, replacing, or striking words or paragraphs in order to change the sense of the bill agreed to with the Interior Ministry.

Those in disagreement with the reform argued that the seven basic points of the National Executive Committee hadn't been met. Its defenders advanced the arguments made by Alvarez in the letter printed herein. And there were those (Maria Teresa Ortuno and Felipe Calderon Hinojosa, for example) who insisted the CEN never agreed that its negotiators should not go beyond the seven points. Calderon Hinojosa made a lengthy statement of the situations and arguments outlined in his letter. Batiz replied that as far as he was concerned such an accord had been reached or at least that's what he understood. His critics refused to back down, and Calderon Hinojosa went so far as to say that Batiz' statements were false.

Batiz also replied to De la Garza on the matter of the commitment Alvarez allegedly made to the administration. "Concerning the words used by Don Luis," Batiz said, "I didn't mention them precisely to avoid misinterpretation. I will venture to say what I believe him to have said, or Don Luis may say it if he prefers. However, I think Don Luis already said it a moment ago. I will simply say he mentioned that there was a commitment. That commitment was that the government was including in the draft bill the items we asked for."

Later, under questioning from Fernando Canales Clariond, Batiz estimated that the meeting in question lasted about 20 or 30 minutes. "It was mentioned, perhaps by Don Luis himself or by one of the deputies in attendance, that the party did have a commitment, that the party's word was on the line," Batiz said. "At no time was there mention of any personal commitment."

In answer to Ramon Casillas, he talked about what would have happened if PAN refused to support the reform. Batiz offered two personal hypotheses: either more room for negotiations would have opened up or the talks would have broken off altogether. During this reply Batiz said that in his judgment PAN had operated under severe time pressures. When President Salinas said PAN

was "the one backing out" or when the Interior Secretary spoke of the party's "welshing on something," Batiz said they were "probably" adding to these pressures.

Abel Vicencio followed Batiz with an account of negotiations with the PRD and a reiteration of the events preceding approval of the reforms. Once again he insisted that even though the 101 PAN deputies had not seen a full text of the bill before the Chamber of Deputies convened, most knew enough to make a decision. There were other speeches before the time came for the vote already described on whether to accept or reject the party's decision to support the constitutional reforms. The next day more skirmishing broke out on the issue when—for the first time—comments followed the report of chairman of the PAN National Executive Committee. At that time there were harsh words for those PAN supporters who publicly criticized or censured their party's decision.

### * Madero Urges Caution

*90EM0094C Mexico City PROCESO No. 690 in Spanish 22 Jan 90 pp 6-7*

[Article by Luis Angel Garza]

[Text] Pablo Emilio Madero is getting ready to contest the national leadership of PAN [National Action Party] with Luis H. Alvarez in opposition to continuity and in the name of change. However, he refuses to say so explicitly and limits himself to condemning the agreement with PRI that cleared the way for reforming the Constitution's clauses on elections.

"I cannot be explicit on many points because of an internal agreement," he told PROCESO. He made the statement in a reference to "a school of thought" in which he included himself, Bernardo Batiz, Gabriel Jimenez Remus, Jose Gonzalez Torres, Jorge Eugenio Ortiz, and Jose Angel Conchello. He mentioned them as precandidates "who agree on matters of program, thinking, and all that." From among them it will be necessary to choose "the one who best represents this outlook, who seeks change."

What does the proposed change consist of?

"What I can say is that we believe there ought to be a very clear confrontation with the system. We ought to achieve change in this country. We ought to democratize the rules of the game for elections and reject situations that get us off the track that we've always been on. To be specific, we think that now with the election law becoming an issue we must fight hard for real progress. Some progress was made with the recent constitutional reform, but there were also reverses, and we say if there are going to be reverses, they should not come with our acceptance."

On being questioned about whether there are differences in the way President Carlos Salinas de Gortari is regarded, he returned to the same point. "There are those who trust the president and believe his promises that there's going to be real democratization in the county. I prefer to believe in the promises that are proven by facts. To me respecting the will of the people in Baja California is not enough. One swallow does not make a spring. We must come up with an electoral system in which the results are respected, not recognized. We need a system that doesn't depend on whether or not the president of the Republic approves. I don't want to be subject to the whim of the president no matter who it is."

Pablo Emilio Madero has been a PAN activist for 50 years. He has served as national leader, run for president of the Republic, and been a legislative deputy. He's held a variety of posts and been on the ballot in Nuevo Leon where he is currently the PAN state chairman. His activities have often been controversial.

In 1975 Madero ran unsuccessfully for the PAN presidential nomination. His failure triggered an internal conflict within the party and left it without a candidate to run against Jose Lopez Portillo. At the time Madero was regarded as the standard-bearer of the new wave of "neopanistas." The latter were seen as closely linked to industrial interests—especially in Nuevo Leon—in a period of open confrontation with the administration of Luis Echeverria.

Madero, at present retired from service as an executive of the Monterrey industrial group Vitro, won the PAN presidential nomination in 1982. He ran a highly aggressive campaign with stinging attacks on the PRI government and calls to defend the vote. If they want to steal votes, he would repeat at rallies, raise a ruckus. According to official figures, Madero garnered slightly more than 3.7 million votes, almost 16 percent of the total count. It was enough to renew the momentum PAN had lost six years earlier.

He became PAN national chairman in 1984 in a period characterized by friendly relations between the administration of Miguel de la Madrid and the major industrial groups, including Vitro. In December 1985 a split between Vitro and PAN became public. The company's director general, Rogelio Sada Zambrano, came under heavy pressure to cease his active support of the opposition party or resign.

Madero's attitude changed too. As PAN national chairman he battled those resisting election fraud in the Chihuahua state elections of 1986. On the way to Mexico City, he got off a plane in Chihuahua City to tell reporters he was against highway blockades and other actions of PAN activists in the state. Later he tried—without success—to get Luis H. Alvarez to suspend a hunger strike demanding respect for the vote. Legal remedies must be exhausted first, Madero said.

The image of himself as a "neopanista" in the 70s and a "traditionalist" now amuses Madero. He declined to define himself. "What do you think?" he asked. A "neopanista," he stressed, is someone who recently joined the party. "I've been a member for 50 years." In

clarifying his views on the civil disobedience tactics sometimes associated with the "neopanistas" he said: "I think the concept needs fine tuning. There's no doubt that it requires organization; the citizenry has to get involved without a doubt. But when you apply the pressure, you have to be prepared for a long struggle. Some people come up with very spectacular ideas for civil disobedience. They think they can get quick results, and people get frustrated when they don't get them. Civil disobedience requires spiritual strength to support a long-term effort. It's not a 100-meter dash, it's a marathon. You have to keep up the pressure even though you've cheated, and you can't resort to violence which is the last thing the country needs."

In Monterrey, Madero has been quoted as saying PAN must undergo a thoroughgoing change, even on matters of doctrine. However, Madero downplayed this, saying it amounts to his "being open to that possibility." He added: "You could project the principles in our doctrine into areas it doesn't now embrace. Into the nuclear issue and energy, for example. But we don't have any fixed proposals."

Madero said he is not actually campaigning to renew PAN's national leadership. However, he did comment that people sharing his views have been making visits "and phone calls" in an effort to channel the thinking of national council members in a certain direction.

## Costa Rica

### Protest Blocks Presidential House for 7 Hours

*PA1503042490 San Jose Radio Reloj in Spanish 0100 GMT 15 Mar 90*

[Text] After almost seven hours, the demonstration staged by the victims of financial companies over the last few months has virtually ended. The demonstrators blocked the way to Zapote, the streets leading to the Presidential House, the gates to the presidential building, and even the building itself, keeping the personnel and officials—including Presidency Minister Rodrigo Arias Sanchez and Deputy Presidency Minister Luis Alberto Cordero—locked inside. When the employees tried to leave at 1700, many of them had to clamber up the wall separating the presidential building from the cemetery in Zapote, because they could not leave through the gates.

In view of the attitude of the demonstrators, who blocked the gates and provoked the personnel and security officials inside, the authorities had to be called in. Two busloads of riot police waited for almost three hours, until after 1830, when Deputy Presidency Minister Cordero ordered them to open at least one gate and permit those inside to leave.

At this moment, the few remaining demonstrators have decided to leave and return home. The police are guarding the accesses to the presidential offices. Free transit has not yet been restored on the San Jose-Zapote highway. The demonstrators are demanding that the government include in the call to special sessions a bill that has been at the assembly for two years. They want a law to recognize the loss they suffered through the bankruptcy of several financial companies in which they had deposited money.

Cordero said the special sessions have been called to discuss only the bill on the refinancing of the foreign debt, which would allow Costa Rica to reduce its debt to commercial banks by 1 billion [currency not specified]. He said a bill that is not a priority for the executive branch cannot be included. Nevertheless, he left the door open to include in a future, expanded call to special sessions a bill for the benefit of those who suffered losses because of the bankruptcy of financial firms.

This has been a rather unusual situation, because this is the first time during President Oscar Arias's administration that the gates to the Presidential House have been blocked and that persons, including ranking government officials, have been prevented from entering or leaving the premises.

The authorities did not take any violent action. They simply began forcing the demonstrators out and cleared one of the back gates. This weakened the demonstrators' movement, which has now been practically reduced to nil. They said, however, that they are prepared to come back on the morning of 21 March, when the session of the Council of Government will open. They want to force the government to include their bill in the period of special sessions. As is known, there are 13 sessions left for the current legislature to close on 30 April, which would virtually make it impossible to comply with the demonstrators' demand.

The possibility was left open, however, and thus the action ended. This has been a dark episode or stage in the administration. The incident demonstrated a lack of authority, because no action was taken for seven long hours to allow officials to leave or enter. Not even the public, seeking services at the presidential offices, could enter or leave.

## El Salvador

### Government Responds to FMLN Proposals

*PA1403193690 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSKL in Spanish 1745 GMT 14 Mar 90*

["Press communique" issued by the Salvadoran Government, read by the Presidency Information Secretary Mauricio Sandoval—live]

[Text] The government of the Republic, regarding the resumption of the dialogue with the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front], states that:

1. It considers the efforts announced publicly by the FMLN as positive in contributing toward reestablishing the confidence in the possibilities of dialogue, which was seriously affected by the unilateral interruption of the process by the FMLN and the subsequent offensive unleashed last 11 November.

2. It welcomes point four of the FMLN communique, regarding the suspension of attacks against the civilian population, which logically includes the commitment not to use mines or other explosives against townships and to abstain from extortions, kidnappings, and hiding behind the civilian population during military actions. These points have constantly been raised by the government for obvious humanitarian reasons.

3. It is disposed to resuming the dialogue with the FMLN as soon as possible with the good offices of the UN Secretary General and within the spirit of the Esquipulas II and subsequent agreements that culminated with the declaration issued by the Central American presidents in San Isidro de Coronado.

4. It considers the communique issued on 13 March by the UN secretary general to be very timely in its recognition of the government's full cooperation in the efforts to resume the process and it reaffirms the importance of confidentiality for success. The government notes with satisfaction the appeal made by the secretary general regarding moderation in public statements on the talks because since 1 July 1989 this has been the government's position.

5. It reiterates its steadfast proposal to resume the dialogue process with the FMLN, keeping with the criterion that talks should be permanent, serious, and substantial, and lead to a definitive solution to the conflict as soon as possible.

6. It will continue to cooperate broadly and positively with the actions of the UN secretary general and is awaiting the effective results of such important efforts.

### Information Secretary Views Talks With FMLN

*PA1503035190 San Salvador Domestic Service in Spanish 1755 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[News conference by Presidency Information Secretary Mauricio Sandoval with unidentified foreign and local reporters at the Presidential House in San Salvador—live; broadcast in progress]

[Text] [Sandoval] ...the context within which I believe it should be kept, because we are talking about attacks on the civilian population.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Sandoval] No, I am referring to point four of the communique, which refers to the total suspension of attacks on government officials and civilians who do not belong to military or paramilitary apparatuses. All of you are civilians who do not belong to any military or paramilitary apparatus, and you are covered by that point.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Sandoval] Your question must be answered by the UN secretary general, because he is working on that and the government has held various meetings with Alvaro de Soto, the UN secretary general's personal representative, with whom we have been defining the actions that could be adopted to resume the dialogue.

The government is responding to a request by the UN secretary general regarding the confidentiality and reserve that should surround the process, to avoid publicizing decisions or proposals which could alter the course of the discussion. I believe that the efforts the secretary general is making through his representative Alvaro de Soto are succeeding. Unfortunately, this is the third time the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] publicly discusses the process. It did the same thing in Mexico, when it announced that the meeting would be in New York, and then later an FMLN leader accused the government of hindering the process, which the government denied. This is now the third time the FMLN has publicized a decision involving the development of the process.

The government wishes to handle the process seriously and responsibly, and to continue fulfilling the plans discussed with the UN secretary general. In response to the mandate of the five Central American presidents, the government cannot indulge in a public discussion of the substance of the FMLN's announcement. As stated in the communique's sixth point, we are awaiting the results of the UN secretary general's efforts.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] in Mexico or abroad as private talks, or will there be modifications?

[Sandoval] There could be modifications. That is precisely what we are working on now. The process in itself is an activity or process that began on 1 June [as heard], when the various sectors of the country began to get involved and we started holding meetings with the FMLN. We held a meeting in Mexico, which was followed by a meeting in San Jose. This process does not depend on a single meeting, because one meeting cannot solve all of the problems. However, this process will tie our efforts in with the efforts that the UN secretary general is making.

I believe we should not be too eager to know the date of the first meeting, because we are talking about a process through which we are attempting to arrive at solutions that will give us the peace that the country so desires.

[Reporter] Regarding the talks' confidentiality, we know the positions adopted by the government and the insurgents. I would imagine that there are no more secrets to be kept following 10 years of war. Nevertheless, Cristiani's government said over one year ago that there will be Salvadoran solutions because this is a Salvadoran problem. Regarding the position adopted by the FMLN, which was publicized yesterday, they will undoubtedly try to get the Salvadoran Government to lift the state of siege prior to the talks. This was made clear by the commanders who spoke yesterday in Mexico. I would like to know if the government is interpreting this as a true attempt by the rebels to shake hands and seek peace, or if you take it simply as a strategic effort since on two previous occasions [words indistinct].

[Sandoval] The government's communique reaffirms its resolve and willingness to resume the talks as soon as possible. Regarding the confidentiality issue, the FMLN has brought up procedures and mechanisms aimed at establishing the viability of agreements on the country's leading problems. Various proposals have been publicly discussed in the past, and the government pointed this out at the time. However, it is not a matter of opening these topics to the entire population. As you know, this is a political matter and it must be handled carefully to prevent anyone from taking advantage of it.

The FMLN broke the confidentiality of the process at the meetings in Mexico and San Jose when they publicized their proposals. This has made it truly difficult to reach agreements and solve our problems. There is a certain reserve and confidentiality regarding the mechanisms and the procedures that are being established before the dialogue resumes, because we want to make the process a reality. The government is determined and resolved to resume the dialogue, and that is why it is being as reserved as possible.

In fact, the public statements made in the past [words indistinct] the process and have created certain problems for the dialogue process. The secretary general is calling for moderation and confidentiality. If the Central American presidents and the Salvadoran Government traveled to New York to seek the good offices of the UN secretary general, it is only normal for the government to accept a request made by the secretary general. It is a matter of procedure.

[Reporter] I also wanted to ask you about the situation that emerged when the UN Human Rights Commission virtually presented a resolution against the Salvadoran Government. Does this in any way relate to the fact that the FMLN, when it already knows about that resolution, presents a position that makes a dialogue feasible?

[Sandoval] The truth is that one of the first points in the UN human rights resolution states that the Salvadoran Government is making every effort to foster respect for human rights in the country. It does not accuse the government of having a policy of human rights violations. On the contrary, it states that the government is making every effort. The same resolution also states that the conflict in itself generates human rights violations. If there were no hostilities, no armed conflict, no aggressions such as the ones the FMLN staged on 11 November, there would necessarily be fewer human rights violations because there would be no conflict to generate them and the situation could be kept under control.

The UN resolution also refers to the FMLN's 11 November offensive, which exacerbated the conflict, and it establishes that the government does not have a human rights violation policy. Although the government has been accused of having such a policy, and has been misrepresented abroad as having such a policy, the government does not have a human rights violation policy.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]?

[Sandoval] If there is an armed conflict in El Salvador, if there is a small, armed minority that is carrying out those types of violations, there must be a global conflict generating those violations.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]?

[Sandoval] The government's efforts are aimed at consolidating respect for human rights in the country-....[break in reception]

## End to Paramilitaries, State of Siege Sought

*PA1503043990 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2319 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] San Salvador, 14 Mar (ACAN-EFE)—Opposition political groups and popular organizations asked the Salvadoran Government today to dismantle the paramilitary groups and suspend the state of siege so as to facilitate the renewal of a dialogue with the guerrilla groups and a negotiated solution to the conflict.

The National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), which is a social democratic organization, asked the government to dissolve the paramilitary groups in reply to the guerrillas' suspension of acts of sabotage on the economy and attacks on civil officials, effective 16 March.

"We also ask the government to show its good will by dismantling paramilitary organizations that are guilty of abuse, violations, and massacres," stated a communique from the MNR, which is a member of the leftist Democratic Convergence and is affiliated to Socialist International.

The MNR recalled that a civilian, identified as Martin Garcia, was assassinated last week and that members of the civil defense of Cuscatancingo, in the northern outskirts of San Salvador, are involved.

The movement added that civil defense members are also responsible for "a massacre of peasants in the town of San Agustin (Usulutan)" on 5 March 1982, among many other assassinations.

The civil defense is composed of approximately 12,000 men, and it is armed and trained by the Armed Forces, to which it is assigned.

Meanwhile, the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS), one of the leading labor unions in the country, asked the government to suspend the state of siege as "a gesture of reciprocity" to the guerrilla groups' decision to suspend their sabotage on the economy and their attacks on civil officials.

The government decreed the state of siege on 12 November, one day after the strongest guerrilla offensive of the decade was launched.

The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) will suspend its sabotage on telecommunications and commercial enterprises and public transportation and its attacks on civil officials at 0000 (0600 GMT) on Friday, 16 March.

Members of the Armed Forces and paramilitary groups are excluded from the rebel measure, which is presumably aimed at facilitating the renewal of the dialogue process with the government.

"We are pleased that the FMLN has responded to the people's hopes of achieving peace with these measures," said Marco Tulio Lima, leader of the UNTS, which, according to its leaders, consists of approximately 200,000 private and public workers.

The Salvadoran Government "welcomed" the FMLN's decision today and said it is willing to renew the dialogue "as soon as possible" with the mediation of UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

### FMLN Advocates Demilitarization of Country

*PA1403003790 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 4 Mar 90*

[Station commentary: "The Issue of Armies"]

[Text] Now that the opposition has won the elections in Nicaragua, attention has focused on the Sandinist People's Army [EPS] and the Interior Ministry, upon which the police organizations depend.

President-elect Violeta Chamorro says that the defense and interior ministers will be civilians, and that she is planning a vast reduction in the EPS. The Sandinists have said that they see no problem in having civilian ministers at the head of the Armed Forces. Regarding the reduction of troops, the Sandinists have argued—reasonably enough—that it will depend on the contras' total demobilization.

Once the contras no longer constitute a threat and democracy is achieved in Nicaragua, the EPS will, of course, no longer play the leading role it played during 10 years of counterrevolutionary aggression. In any case, the EPS issue will be discussed at the Nicaraguan Assembly because the Nicaraguan constitution states that the EPS is the Nicaraguan people's armed branch.

On the other hand, the Salvadoran Armed Forces, lacking professionalism and the profound respect for human rights which the EPS has professed, has monopolized political power in El Salvador, and is now disputing economic power with the oligarchy. If we look at the wide range of proposals that have been set forth by various political and social forces in the country, even those set forth by U.S. Congressmen to seek a political solution of the conflict, we would agree that the Armed Forces is the leading hindrance to the country's democratization.

As far as we know, the EPS has never been accused of bombing civilians; we have never heard reports of death squads in Nicaragua since 19 July 1979; the Sandinist soldiers have never murdered priests or laid siege to a national university; and it has never been reported that the EPS placed bombs at labor union facilities. Everyone knows that the Sandinist police, who are in charge of traffic, do not even use firearms. Once the contras are demobilized, however, the EPS must be reduced to further strengthen democracy.

If such action is necessary in Nicaragua, it is even more necessary in El Salvador, because in El Salvador we have a corrupt, murderous Armed Forces. For example, Colonel Benavides, who has been implicated by President Cristiani himself in the murder of the Jesuit priests, lives in a luxury apartment at the National Police. This case, which is one of many, proves how the Armed Forces stand above everything in our country.

To achieve El Salvador's democratization, the Armed Forces must relinquish its monopoly on political power, purge its ranks, reduce the Army, truly professionalize the Army, and ensure its obedience to civilian power. This is not an absurd or whimsical FMLN demand, as it was described last year by the military chiefs and even by government officials. We believe it is a national demand. The Salvadoran Armed Forces, therefore, are the key to peace, not only in El Salvador but in all of Latin America. The demilitarization of our society is essential to begin building a truly democratic and peaceful process.

### Agronomist Discusses Reform's 'Negative Results'

*PA1503021090 El Salvador DIARIO LATINO in Spanish 6 Mar 90 p 3*

[Text] Agronomist Ramon Aparicio, president of the Salvadoran Institute of Agrarian Transformation (ISTA), said today that negative results have been achieved in peasant trade unions since the agrarian reform was founded 10 years ago today.

The official said the factors that directly affected the consolidation of the agrarian reform process were inadequate technical assistance, lack of preparation for the cooperative system, and the same corruption that, according to ISTA, exists in some reformed sector cooperatives.

Ramon Aparicio stated that the peasant community was not prepared to undertake the first phase of the agrarian reform in 1980, and, therefore, the process launched 10 years ago has not yielded positive results.

According to the official, the government is promoting a new reform policy based on the liberalization and reactivation of the reform sector to overcome the problems prevailing in this field. The goal, he said, is for the peasants to become instruments of the country's economic and social development.

The ISTA president urged all the peasant organizations to hold talks and discuss the government's new policies in this field so the cooperative members may pay their agrarian and bank debts.

According to the official, the government's new policy only seeks to deepen the first phase of the agrarian reform, which has yet to achieve the results expected by the country's peasant sector. When the agrarian reform was implemented in 1980, it sought to stop the rebels' advance and was part of a counterinsurgency program endorsed by the U.S. Government.

## Honduras

### Callejas Views Trip, U.S. Policy, Nicaragua

*PA1503145890 Tegucigalpa Domestic Service in Spanish 1540 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[News conference by President Rafael Leonardo Callejas with unidentified reporters at Hernan Acosta Mejia Airbase in Tegucigalpa—live]

[Text] [Callejas] Once again I am back in my dear fatherland after quite a brief trip, in which I had the opportunity to attend the inauguration of Chilean President Patricio Aylwin in a very impressive democratic ceremony, in accordance with the principles of liberty that the Latin American continent is promoting.

During this trip with Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez, Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, and Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, we were able to share some viewpoints regarding the Central American situation, placing special emphasis on the options that will make it possible to have a smooth and peaceful transfer of power between President Ortega and President-elect Violeta Chamorro in the faternal Republic of Nicaragua.

To this effect and in previous consultations with Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani and Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo, we should be holding a presidential summit between 31 March and 1 April for the purpose of promoting, supervising, and analyzing the conditions needed to make the peace process feasible for Central American and obviously Honduras. In this regard, our proposal has been straightforward. It is important that the demobilization occur and the consequent disarmament of the irregular counterrevolutionary forces in our territory should follow. However, at the same time, there must be some mechanism, as we have expressed to the presidents, particularly to President Ortega, that will permit prompt repatriation so that Nicaraguan citizens, currently in our territory, can return to their fatherland.

It was a very fruitful trip. We discussed with Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez some of the aspects dealing with the financing that, as a result of a special agreement with the Inter-American Development Bank, approved on the occasion of the 500-year anniversary of the discovery of America, will be provided for important works in Honduras which we will do expeditiously. There is no doubt that the attitude toward our country is very promising and favorable. There is great respect for the decisions made in Honduras in the search for economic solutions that will permit, in a relatively short time, us to face the country's financial problems. In this regard, the trip was very fruitful. It was indeed short, but very positive, because we were able to convey the Honduran people's solidarity to the Chilean people in their new democratic way of life.

[Moderator] Journalists will be allowed to ask only one question, because we have very little time; the president has to attend a special ceremomy at the Presidential House. Let us begin with Guillermo Fiallos please.

[Fiallos] Mr. Callejas, before leaving on your trip to Venezuela, you admitted that the main topic you were going to discuss with the Central American presidents would be the contras' demobilization. In the past few hours, the international press has reported that U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle and President Ortega are working so the demobilization of the contras takes place before 25 April, before Violeta de Chamorro takes over power. Can this demobilization take place, taking into account the efforts being made by [words indistinct] presidents?

[Callejas] The demobilization should be carried out. We clearly established this, even during the informal talks we held with the U.S. vice president, so they will know the policy promoted by the Honduran Government is that irregular counterrevolutionary forces should be demobilized as promptly as possible, allowing their return to Nicaraguan territory before 25 April.

[Moderator] [Words indistinct] journalist please.

[Reporter] Mr. President, taking into account that the United States has offered [words indistinct] million and [words indistinct] Honduras. Were you able to obtain any commitments from the U.S. Vice President regarding economic aid for our country

[Callejas] We did not touch the subject and only talked about our bilateral program with the United States. However, we did hold in-depth talks with President Daniel Ortega and Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, son of Mrs. Violeta Chamorro, and noted that the Honduran area bordering Nicaragua had suffered serious ecological damage because of the camps constructed there. I personally feel that the damage is quiet serious and that environmental measures must be taken to correct the situation. This is a subject that we will cover at a later date with the United States in the framework of our bilateral relations and when the multilateral aspects of the program for the reconstruction of Nicaragua, which we presume and expect to be massive, is discussed.

[Moderator] For Abriendo Brecha [words indistinct].

[Reporter] Will it be possible to demobilize the contras before 25 April, Mr. Presdident?

[Callejas] We must do all that we can toward this effort. We are making every effort to attain this objective.

[Moderator] [Words indistinct].

[Reporter] Did you discuss with Daniel Ortega the subject of reducing the Sandinists' military forces or their surrendering their weapons to Violeta Chamorro? We understand Ortega is trying to take control of the Army independently from Chamorro's government.

[Callejas] These are Nicaraguan internal issues. We, naturally, are concerned with the situation because Central America should reduce its number of offensive weapons. In our judgment, there should not be any overtly large military structure, such as the Sandinist Army. However, this is an internal matter and we respect the decisions made by countries in accordance with their laws.

[Moderator] [Words indistinct] for LA TRIBUNA.

[Reporter] Mr. President, taking advantage of your trip to Venezuela or your going through Venezuela, did you have the opportunity to exchange opinions or meet with the Venzuelan economic missions? If so, did you talk about the feasibility of receiving some type of short-term economic or petroleum aid?

[Callejas] Venezuela has been contributing strongly to the Republic of Honduras; it has given strong and effective support. During this trip and because of delays in San Jose, Costa Rica, where there was some confusion; we got there at 0700 and had to stay until 0900. Therefore, our stay in Venezuela was not very long. However, during the trip to Santiago, we were able to talk about these topics again. We were told that some economic requests that we had made to finance petroleum had already been authorized with a new letter of credit. We also followed up the conversations and commitments that I had made when I visited Venezuela as president-elect. I only stayed in Venezuela a short time.

[Moderator ] Renato Alba, [words indistinct].

[Alba] Mr. President, what would be your government's position, considering its political commitment to get the contras out of Honduras, if some contra leaders continue to refuse demobilization?

[Callejas] The Honduran Government insists on the quick demobilization of the irregular counterrevolutionary forces. We have expressed this to the corresponding responsible organizations: ONUCA [UN Observer Group in Central America] and CIAV [International Commission of Support and Verification]. We have talked about this with Venezuela, which is prepared to send a military detachment—the equivalent of a battalion—to reinforce ONUCA as a contribution to this program of disarmament and demobilization. Our position on this has been very clear. Logically, and in accordance with the agreements made by the Central Amreican presidents, the responsibility was given to the United Nations so it can proceed to implement mechanisms, as quickly as possible, to attain this goal. The time was defined as before the inaguration of Mrs. Violeta Chamorro.

[Reporter] Mr. President, it has been said that new Nicaraguan Government could withdraw its suit against Honduras at The Hague. Could this topic be discussed during the next presidential summit in Nicaragua or is it to be discussed with the new government only?

[Callejas] We hope they will take the initiative. We do not think there are any legal or political reasons preventing them from doing so. We will wait for the new government to take over, then we will hold formal talks and request that the suit be withdrawn.

[Reporter] Mr. President, is there any possibility your government might modify the economic measures, inasmuch as not all of them are accepted by the Honduran people?

[Moderator] Will you please repeat the question?

[Reporter] Yes. Is there any possibility that your government might modify the economic measures it has adopted because the Honduran people seem to be rejecting them?

[Callejas] Economic adjustment measures are never very popular among those making the decisions or obviously among those who must cope with them. However, these measures are necessary at medium term. [sentence as heard] We cannot modify our measures, as they are part of a macroeconomic plan whose goal is to discover the answer from an economic point and not continue with the fraudulent prices and the distortions of the market. We will be fine-tuning the programs and guiding our efforts toward the sectors having the least economic resources.

[Reporter] Mr. President, the National Bank announced on 13 March that over 2,000 employees have been dismissed. Meanwhile, and in spite of an agreement reached last week, ANDEPH [National Association of Honduran Public Employees] has said this is not part of the agreement. Could this lead to a conflict between the government and ANDEPH?

[Callejas] Although I just arrived, I have already been briefed about the communique issued by the government. I understand that this specifically means that there has been an audit of all jobs and it has been determined that some people who have been appointed do not meet the requirements of the Civil Service Law. To that effect, I must state we are going to comply with the law and there is no reason why people who do not meet the requirements should be holding public positions.

[Moderator] We have only time for three more questions. These questions will be asked by Guillermo Fiallos, [words indistinct] to conclude this news conference.

[Fiallos] What other important subjects did you discuss with the Central American presidents? In addition, what do you think about the march being organized by the National Party of Honduras to support your administration, particularly since some opposition sectors say that [words indistinct] of this mobilization that will take place within the next few hours?

[Callejas] In these cases, each one has its own interpretations. I interpret this as a show of support from the citizens who voted for me, as they want to show that throughout this process of internal changes, they are determined to cope with the problems resulting from the national crisis.

With the presidents, we basically discussed the Central American situation. The Spanish president gave us a political and economic analysis of the events taking place in Eastern Europe. He mentioned the possibility that Europe might have higher priority over Latin America in the economic future. We shared viewpoints

to promote new economic guidelines once peace and democracy is a fact in Central America. [one-minute break in reception]

[Reporter] ...according to the experts, the United States is planning to reduce the size of the armies in the Central American region. In the case of Panama, that country no longer has an army, and the same thing will happen in Nicaragua, judging from the announcements made by Violeta Chamorro de Barrios. Could this situation arise in Honduras? Have you received any word on this? It is said that assistance will be conditioned to the reduction of armies in the region.

[Callejas] We make our sovereign decisions concerning our Armed Forces. Through the legal mechanisms, the Honduran people will make the decisions regarding the responsibility of the Armed Forces in defending our territorial integrity and sovereignty. To this end, the United States might have a say in military assistance, but not in the internal resolutions of the Honduran people.

[Reporter] The people are talking about a reduction of fuel in our country, that is, liquid petroleum gas. Is this being controlled or is there a lack of supply? Could it be that the companies selling gas are hoarding it? Will you impose some supervision over gasoline and distribution stations, knowing that it could have serious repercussions? I would also like to know how you feel about the increase in transportation rates?

[Callejas] I have nothing to say regarding your first question because I do not know about the events of the past few days. Regarding urban transportation and the possibility of passengers suffering the effects of a possible diesel price increase, we have established a subsidy for the urban transport sector in the framework of the economic program, to prevent a fare rate increase. This subsidy amounts to 25 million lempiras, which should be more than enough.

Last night I had the opportunity to speak with the Honduran ambassador to Venezuela. We had asked Venezuela to help us alleviate the problem of the transport units at the National Autonomous University of Honduras. I am happy to report that Venezuela has the capability of financing the purchase of these transport units. If an agreement is reached, these units would help satisfy the transportation needs of the university students.

I will be discussing this matter with the university and the Federation of University Students of Honduras.

[Moderator] Journalists, the president has to go to the Government Palace to attend [words indistinct]. Therefore, this news conference is over. Thank you.

[Callejas] Thank you.

## Nicaragua

### Ortega Discusses Embargo, Talks With Quayle

*PA1403171890 Managua Sistema Sandinista de Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] The lifting of the U.S. embargo is a victory for the Nicaraguan people, President Daniel Ortega said today in Santiago, Chile. Further expressions of support for the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] were given to the Sandinist leader in Chile.

President Daniel Ortega met for over an hour with U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle on the occasion of the inauguration of Chilean President Patricio Aylwin. Following his meeting with Quayle, the Sandinist leader was questioned by reporters.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] What could you tell us about the conversation with the U.S. Vice President?

[Ortega] I think it was very positive. We agreed on various issues that must be solved. For example, there are some problems regarding the contras.

[Reporter] You have said that although you lost the elections, you are the winner. What do you mean?

[Ortega] In Nicaragua, I reached power not by ousting a democratic government, but by ousting a dictatorship so Nicaragua could have democracy. We achieved democracy in Nicaragua with the victory of the revolution. We held our first elections in 1984, and now we held new elections in 1990. The fact that the FSLN lost the elections reaffirms the democratic will of the FSLN.

[Reporter] We understand that you will be turning power over to Violeta Chamorro in a more peaceful manner than was done in Chile.

[Ortega] I am sure that there will not be any violence in the streets of Managua on inauguration day.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Ortega] I hope she will contribute to the pacification and stability of Nicaragua, things which are so much needed.

[Reporter] President Ortega, excuse us, as we were unable to hear you from the beginning. However, we would like to know your opinion about the United States lifting the embargo it had imposed on Nicaragua for 10 years. What do you have to say?

[Ortega] This has been a battle all Nicaraguans have been waging. We have all been demanding the lifting of the embargo. The truth is that I must consider this a victory for the Nicaraguan people.

[Reporter] How much influence did your conversations with Dan Quayle have to do with this measure?

[Ortega] I think that it was evident that there was a trend in the U.S. Government to take this step, regardless of who won the elections, because it was clear that it was impossible to defeat the Nicaraguan revolution and that a democratic process was being strengthened; and this was reaffirmed in February 1990. [Words indistinct] important part of Congress working in favor of lifting of the embargo. [end recording]

### Foreign Ministry Communique on Lifting Embargo

*PA1403170790 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 1200 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Foreign Ministry communique issued in Managua on 13 March]

[Text] The Foreign Ministry informs the Nicaraguan people and the international community that today U.S. President George Bush announced the lifting of the embargo on Nicaragua and a request for economic aid for our country. On this subject the Nicaraguan Government declares that:

1. It supports the decision to lift the economic embargo against Nicaragua.

2. It supports President Bush's request to the U.S. Congress for $300 million in economic aid to Nicaragua.

3. It urges the U.S. Government to immediately send an economic delegation to make an on-site study of Nicaragua's economic situation, so the Nicaraguan people can receive the aid as soon as possible.

Managua, 13 March 1990. Foreign Ministry.

### Chamorro, Carrion Comment on Embargo, Aid

*PA1403185690 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1744 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Managua, 14 Mar (ACAN-EFE)—President-elect Violeta Chamorro has said that the lifting of the trade embargo announced by her U.S. counterpart George Bush "is opening a new phase of friendship and mutual respect in Nicaragua's relations with the United States."

In a letter to Bush, which was released in Managua today, Chamorro said she trusts "that this first step by the U.S. Government will be emulated by other governments in the international community that have expressed an interest in contributing to Nicaragua's recovery and reconstruction."

In addition to lifting the embargo imposed on Nicaragua in May 1985, Bush promised to ask the U.S. Congress to grant $300 million in aid to that country.

The National Opposition Union, which won the 25 February elections with Chamorro as its candidate, released to the press the letter of appreciation sent to Bush by the president-elect, who is in Houston for treatment to her right kneecap, which she fractured in an accident at home some months ago.

In contrast to Chamorro's appreciation, outgoing Economy Minister Luis Carrion described the aid promised by Bush as "insignificant and insufficient," considering "the damage done by the United States to this country."

Chamorro, who will be installed in office on 25 April, will return to Nicaragua next week without the cast that she has been wearing since January.

### More on Chamorro's Opinion

*PA1503004190 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 2307 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Communique issued by President-elect Violeta B. de Chamorro's Information and Press Office in Managua—date not given]

[Text] The Information and Press Office of Nicaraguan President-elect Violeta B. de Chamorro reports the following:

From Houston, Texas, where she is receiving rehabilitation treatment for her leg, Violeta B. de Chamorro said that she was pleased with the announcements made by U.S. President George Bush suspending the embargo on Nicaragua and asking Congress for emergency economic assistance to restore the Nicaraguan economy.

The president-elect, who will be sworn in on 25 April, feels that this begins a new stage of friendship and reciprocal respect in the relations between Nicaragua and the United States in accordance with the interests of the two nations and the objetives of peace and stability for the Central American area.

Chamorro trusts that this first step by the U.S. Government, in the face of the beginning of democracy in Nicaragua, will be followed by other governments of the international community which have expressed an interest in helping Nicaragua's economic recovery and national reconstruction.

Thus, an effort will be made to heal the deep wounds Nicaragua has suffered and to guarantee a future of prosperity, peace, and freedom for the Nicaraguan people.

### Commentary on Lifting U.S. Economic Blockade

*PA1403160490 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1233 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Station commentary]

[Text] Yesterday, U.S. President George Bush ended one of his measures in his 10-year policy of aggression against Nicaragua by suspending the economic blockade imposed since 5 May 1985.

Only the sacrifice and determination of the people, led by their vanguard during these 10 years of war, within the democratic process that concluded with the last

elections, were able to get Washington to lift its economic boycott against the country. Up until 6 November, when Bush renewed the trade embargo amid the local election campaign, the costs of the action had added up to more than $1.1 billion, not to mention the $18 billion in losses caused by war and, most importantly, the 70,000 lives that were lost.

In addition to these costs and to the effects of the pressures on international credit organizations, Nicaragua sustained huge losses as a result of years of lost export revenue. Our country stopped receiving $146 million for the export of beef, fish, tobacco, sugar, and bananas as a result of the increase in freight costs, because goods had to be shipped to other markets farther away than the ones natural for the area.

There was an additional $484 million drop in the GNP because of the storage costs incurred when the embargo was imposed, as there were no open foreign markets. Nicaragua also stopped receiving some $80 million because it had to sell its products at prices lower than the ones paid by our traditional markets.

Just by preventing Aeronica from flying to the United States, an additional $18 million was lost—just an example.

The U.S. trade embargo, which was initially imposed by Ronald Reagan and later renewed, completely damaged the national economy, which was totally dependent on the United States. Thanks to this illegal and immoral measure, thousands of Nicaraguan citizens were resentful toward the revolution because their normal commercial activities had to be restricted. They were unable to purchase spare parts, machinery, raw materials, technology, etc. Nicaragua was also forced to completely change its economic infrastructure,with the resulting negative effects, both economically and socially, which meant greater sacrifices amid a war.

The economic blackmail, the objective of which was to force the country to give in to the military and terrorist actions carried out by the contras, did not have the effects desired by Washington, despite its pressure on other countries. Even though the contra war was defeated, the economy could not recover as quickly as the country would have desired. However, goundwork had already been laid for an economic recovery in the elections, because international support was expected no matter what the outcome. The determination of the Nicaraguan people made the U.S. Government change its mind; for the past few months, it had shown signs it was willing to reconsider its actions against the country, and there was the possibility of normalizing relations.

The international boycott and the trade embargo should never have been imposed by the U. S. Government out of respect for international justice, self-determination, and the sovereignty of poor, small countries. The suspension of the sanctions is welcome because it benefits the people's interests.

Even though the $300 million offered by Bush for the new government is nothing compared to the damage caused, it is evidence that Washington will continue changing its policy toward Nicaragua, which gives us hope to achieve peace, our most precious goal.

The $300 million is also minimal compared to what the contras received during the 10 years. But now, within the framework of reconciliation and peace, the best effort that can be made to demobilize the contras, should be made. It all exclusively depends on the U.S. Government.

### UNO Creates Liaison Commissions for Transition

*PA1503001690 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 2302 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] The Political Council of UNO [National Opposition Union] has created four liaison commissions for the various transition stages that will culminate on 25 April with the inauguration of a civilian government.

The members of these four liaison commissions will meet with Engineer Antonio Lacayo Oyanguren to draft a work agenda.

The Protocol Commission comprises Dr. Ivan Salvador Madriz, Alfredo Mendieta Artola of the UNO International Relations Commission, and Gilberto Derman Farias. Those who make up the Finance Commission are Jose Ernesto Somarriba, Alfredo Guzman, and Roberto Lacayo, well-known administrators.

The Economic Commission comprises Reynaldo Hernandez Rueda, Dr. Wilfredo Navarro, and Dr. Edwin Illescas.

Finally, the Infrastructure Commission comprises Agustin Jarquin Amaya, Tomas Urroz, and Edgar Quintana.

It has been reported that the Protocol Commission will be headed by a coordinator who will be assisted by Foreign Ministry officials regarding invitations that will be sent out for the 25 April inauguration of Violeta Barrios de Chamorro.

Jarquin Amaya's arrival is anticipated so he can begin meeting with Construction and Transportation Ministry officials to learn about current government construction projects.

### Godoy Says Sandinists Blocking Transition

*PA1503023690 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 2319 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Vice President-elect Virgilio Godoy has stated that Ortega should concede defeat instead of erecting obstacles to the transition of power.

At an impromptu news conference held at the UNO [National Opposition Union] office, Godoy told reporters that he does not know how long the talks for

the transfer of power will be delayed because the Sandinists have continued to put up obstacles.

Here is what Godoy said:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] How does UNO, and especially you, view the talks for the government transition?

[Godoy] The talks on this matter have barely started. There were some preliminary contacts. However, it seems that the government side is showing signs of laziness—to call it something—to seriously begin these talks and form the commissions for transition. We need to find out the state of the nation. We need to know what shape the country will be in when the new government is sworn in.

[Reporter] What is your opinion of the talks and the transition teams? What aspects could you highlight about these direct talks with General Humberto Ortega?

[Godoy] I am telling you, the talks have made practically no progress. They remained at the preliminary contact level. There are no specific commissions working. Consequently, the first steps to find out the status of the nation and what the new government will receive have not been taken.

[Reporter] Can the commissions that UNO is creating to support the transition team help speed up a peaceful transfer of power?

[Godoy] Well, if the government does not want to, it does not matter how much UNO and Violeta are ready to participate with their commissions, because there will not be anything.

[Reporter] Do you think the government is exhibiting an attitude of bad faith in these talks?

[Godoy] The attitude is one of slowness. It is being very slow.

[Reporter] Could it be that the government is waiting for the results of Ortega's trips and the talks that he is going to hold in...

[Godoy, interrupting] Ortega should understand something very clearly. He was defeated on 25 February, and now he must report the country's condition, regardless of the trips he may make from now to 25 April.

[Reporter] You handle economic matters very well. Some Nicaraguan analysts are saying that it is a mistake for UNO to have announced the monetary reform, a change in the paper currency. This has resulted in a trend that is unfavorable for UNO, because the price of the dollar soared in the black market. It rose to 100,000 cordobas per dollar. What is your opinion on this situation, which UNO will have to face with the scarce resources Nicaragua has in economic aid?

[Godoy] When you said some analysts, you said everything and nothing at the same time. Please mention their names and you will see that all the analysts who have expressed an opinion here are government or pro-government individuals.

[Reporter] I am referring to groups of critics. However, I am also referring to a phenomenon that cannot be ignored: The dollar soared to 100,000 cordobas in the black market.

[Godoy] However, it is not 100,000 cordobas, but 100 million of the old cordobas, and it is one of the gigantic deeds we are going to inherit from Sandinism.

[Reporter] Do you think that we can have a parity of one cordoba per dollar?

[Godoy] Many things can be done if we are capable of sowing a new trust in the country. It is a trust that is nonexistent today, as long as there is a Sandinist government in power.

[Reporter] Last weekend the National Assembly approved a bill pardoning officials or people who committed crimes against the people. What will UNO do when it takes over and finds out that...

[Godoy, interrupting] I can only tell you now that it is the clearest admission to the world that this is a government made up of criminals. Consequently, they pardoned themselves before leaving their posts. [end recording]

## Ramirez Discusses Amnesty, Power Transition, Aid

*PA1403134090 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1755 GMT 13 Mar 90*

[News conference by Acting President Sergio Ramirez at the Presidency's Information and Press Directorate with unidentified reporters—live; broadcast in progress]

[Text] [Ramirez] ...therefore, President Ortega's initiative has not only faithfully complied with commitments acquired by the Nicaraguan Government at the Central American level, but it has also responded to the need to have an instrument to achieve peace and reconciliation, when the current constitutional government ends, that would benefit all Nicaraguans, including those who were or still are within the counterrevolutionary ranks and those who defended the country's sovereignty and Nicaragua's democratic institutions in the government and the Armed Forces. The initiative also is to protect those who held public administration positions with loyalty, honesty, and integrity during these past 10 years from slander.

However, this National Amnesty and Reconciliation Law, which should have been viewed by all Nicaraguan citizens, regardless of their political affiliation, as a gesture by President Ortega to consolidate the peace and reconciliation that we all want, has been the target of an indiscriminate campaign of criticism and disinformation by certain radical sectors of the country.

This National Amnesty and Reconciliation Law is to eliminate any possibility of revenge in the democratic future of Nicaragua and create proper conditions for peace, stability, and security of the entire Nicaraguan family. This is why the pardoning and forgetting, as defined in all amnesty laws—and this is a national amnesty and reconciliation law—will be granted in a blanket form, not only to a specific segments but to all sectors involved in this conflict, which has caused so much harm to Nicaragua over the years.

This law, as approved by the National Assembly, stated that it would be in force as soon as it is published in the OFFICIAL GAZETTE, as is usually the case with all laws of the Republic. Perhaps the circumstances surrounding the issuance of this law, which President Ortega wanted to issue as soon as possible, prevented him from submitting this law to the Assembly as the last action of his government.

He actually submitted it before that for the sake of peace and stability in the nation. However, we have realized, given the accumulation of laws and decrees for publication in the OFFICIAL GAZETTE, this law will not be published for a few weeks and as long as laws pending publication are not published first.

We do want anyone to believe that the government of the Republic is pardoning, in advance, crimes that have not yet been committed. This was never President Ortega's intention when he quickly adopted this initiative, nor is it in any way the intention of the Nicaraguan Government.

Therefore, in a note I have sent to the National Assembly president , I have asked the National Assembly to modify the date when this law will come into force. I also returned the draft law. This morning the National Assembly accepted my proposal. Therefore, the law has been amended and will come into force on the date of its dissemination in any voice or print media of the country. Therefore, this law will come into force as soon as I am done reading it. In other words, all crimes or alleged crimes that have not been tried and are covered by this law from 19 July 1979 will be pardoned beginning today, the day of the issuance of this law.

The law says: Law No. 81. The president of the Republic of Nicaragua informs the Nicaraguan people that the Nicaraguan National Assembly, whereas:

1. The Nicaraguan Government has promoted peace, democracy, and the socioeconomic development of the Central American peoples by signing and complying with all the agreements reached by the Central American presidents from when Esquipulas was signed in August 1987 to date;

2. To comply with these agreements the Nicaraguan Government signed a series of agreements with all the country's political forces in August 1989, which have been fully complied with;

3. In addition, great sectors of our society have asserted the need for an authentic national reconciliation that will bring the country peace, tranquillity, and reconstruction;

4. Reconciliation of the Nicaraguan family means forgiving and forgetting those events that brought unrest to the country so in a climate of peace, which so far has eluded us, we can all build a new society where justice and fraternity reign;

5. In compliance with the agreements signed by the Central American presidents and what has been agreed to with the Nicaraguan political forces to obtain national reconciliation, it will be in order to decree a broad and unconditional amnesty law for all Nicaraguans without exception;

Exercising its powers, decrees the following:

General Amnesty and National Reconciliation Law

Article 1. Broad and unconditional amnesty is granted to:

1. Resident and nonresident Nicaraguans who commited crimes against public order and against the state's domestic or foreign security, and common crimes associated with this.

2. Nicaraguan military and civilian authorities who may have committed crimes in prosecuting or investigating the crimes described in the preceding paragraph.

3. Officials and public workers who are presumed to have committed crimes under Volume 2, Title No. 8 of the Penal Code and its amendmnents, especially Law No. 11 published in GAZETTE No. 217 of 12 November 1985, and who have not been prosecuted. The pardon granted includes civil and administrative resonsibility.

Article 2. The amnesty referred to in the previous article covers from 1 July 1979 to the date this law comes into effect.

Article 3. This law shall become effective once published in any of the collective media, even though it may be published at a later date in the Official Gazette.

Given in the National Assembly session hall on 13 March 1990, the Year of Peace and Reconstruction.
Carlos Nunez Tellez, president of the National Assembly;
Rafael Solis Cerda, secretary of the National Assembly.

This is therefore law of the Republic. Publish it and carry it out.

Managua, 13 March 1990, the Year of Peace and Reconstruction.
[Signed] Acting President of the Republic Sergio Ramirez Mercado.

In addition to the crucial issue that deals with the construction of an adequate climate for a peaceful and

orderly transfer of the constitutional government of the Republic, I would like to briefly discuss other issues.

There is an ill-intentioned campaign that has been launched by extremist sectors that are not functioning in the framework of the spirit of peace and reconciliation that must inspire all Nicaraguans. This campaign speaks about an alleged dismantling and looting of public and state assets and resources. Normalcy in which the transition [34-second break in reception] of the state and the enterprises owned by the people to institute strict surveillance to protect the assets, real estate, raw material inventory, banking accounts, financial resources in Nicaragua and abroad, so we may be prepared for an orderly transfer of all the institutions and all their resources. We are fully abiding by this.

We will be prepared to formulate teams that will be in charge of providing to the incoming authorities all of the necessary information, which is ready and prepared for the transition phase. This includes financial statements of enterprises and corporations, complete inventories of the public offices' real estate and assets, and organized files; the comptroller general of the Republic plays an important role in this. The comptroller is Mr. Emilio Baltodano Palais, who was appointed to the post by the National Assembly.

The comptrollership general of the Republic is an independent government agency which has all the mechanisms and resources to exercise, as it has been doing throughout the years, an appropriate control of all the resources, assets, and inventories handled by the government agencies and state-owned enterprises. Therefore, we are going to transfer all government agencies and their resources in an orderly manner.

We want to challenge all the people who irresponsibly accuse the government of looting and dismantling state institutions to present their charges and corresponding evidence to the attorney general and the general comptrollership of the Republic. The challenge is made here, when both the attorney general and general comptroller are present. We do not believe that these slanderous reports and irresponsible accusations contribute to the orderly and peaceful transfer of government, promised by President Daniel Ortega in accordance with our Constitution.

Furthermore, this slander campaign is seriously damaging the moral integrity and prestige of thousands of government officials and firm directors who, throughout all these years, have served state institutions with great loyalty, high moral integrity, and without expecting great rewards. That is why, I, here, as acting president of the Republic, want to defend those thousands of totally honest men and women who, as we know, have received very low wages and certainly less than what they deserved. These people have managed large amounts of resources with a high degree of honesty and loyalty, as evidenced by the comptroller general's periodic financial statements, accounts, and audit reports of all state-owned firms and government agencies, as stipulated by law.

I want to tell the Nicaraguan people that this slanderous campaign is obviously causing serious discomfort, anxiety, and insecurity among state employees and directors of state institutions who have managed these enterprises and resources with a high degree of honesty. In past years, in some special cases in which there have been cases of embezzlement or irregularities in the management of state resources, the cases have been adequately prosecuted through the Comptroller's General Office and through mechanisms available at the Attorney General's Office and the judicial branch in Nicaragua. The corresponding files still exist and we will make them available to the new authorities, who will be sworn in on 25 April 1990. Therefore, any accusation of looting, misappropriation, or dismantling of state institutions is only the result of actions by extremists, for whom we do not believe there is any room in the country at these sensitive moments and at this time when we are very responsibly preparing for the orderly transfer of all institutions and state resources to the new government.

I also want to refer to other laws that the executive branch has submitted to the National Assembly for debate, which include a bill proposing reforms to the Civil Service Law. I believe all well-intentioned Nicaraguans are certain and clear that state employees whose posts are not considered political posts should feel secure about their jobs. This is what the Civil Service is seeking: to protect thousands of employees and government officials. This law is also a result of the agreement signed on 6 August, 1989 between the political parties and the president of the Republic. This is a law that will protect employees and government officials at all state institutions. We have also submitted a housing bill for debate at the assembly. This law is intended to protect thousands of Nicaraguan families who, throughout these years, have been temporarily, or without the corresponding legal documents, occupying property that was expropriated by the state at the beginning of the revolution or which for other reasons belongs to the state. We believe that one of the duties of the outgoing government is to provide security for these thousands of Nicaraguan families so no one will be able to legally expel them from the homes they have been occupying until now. We are talking about thousands of houses in Nicaragua.

Most of these houses belong to poor, low-income families. Hundreds of heads of families have come to the different offices of the Nicaraguan Government, telling us about the hardships they are facing because the people who believe they are the owners of those lands have told them they will be thrown out into the streets.

In this law, we are also going to include measures aimed at protecting the thousands of Nicaraguan families who had received land in settlements located in Managua and other cities to build their houses.

The former owners of the huge tracts of land in Managua, who became rich in the past with the infamous business of harassing people who never had a land deed on their houses, are once again threatening them.

It is also the outgoing government's responsibility to adopt legal protective measures, legalized land title documents, and land deeds to these thousands of families to create the conditions of security in which we all want this transfer of power to take place.

Irresponsible and slanderous statements have also been made to the effect that state institution vehicles are being distributed to government employees and officials. I must flatly deny this accusation and explain that the revolutionary government established a procedure whereby state employees and officials who have served a certain number of years are entitled to purchase the vehicles they use to do their government jobs, and to own them as long as they are in their positions. This measure is still in force; there has been no change.

We wanted to explain these issues. We could not remain silent in view of such irresponsible accusations. We have documents and laws in our power to support our statements. Throughout these years our conduct has been that of revolutionaries. We have safeguarded the integrity of state property and the integrity of a government that has never made personal enrichment its goal. We will observe these principles, which for us are unrenounceable, until our final day in the government. Thank you very much.

[Announcer] Listeners of La Voz de Nicaragua, you have heard the speech delivered by Sergio Ramirez Mercado, Nicaragua's acting president during President Daniel Ortega's absence, during which he made important statements to national and international reporters. We now broadcast the question and answer period following a brief pause.

[Ramirez, in progress] ... which was carried out throughout these years against the country, did not constitute an unfair action against the FSLN as the ruling party, but against the entire Nicaraguan nation as a whole, and against the Nicaraguan people. I believe that the U.S. Government should long ago have taken this action, which is also the result of the Nicaraguan Government's insistent demands.

Regarding the announcement that resources will be provided to the new government taking office on 25 April, we must welcome this U.S. Government decision. President Ortega said prior to his departure that he would—as he is indeed doing—make a personal effort to obtain resources to help the country overcome its economic crisis and the economic deterioration that so many years of unjust war have created in Nicaragua.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Ramirez] I do not believe that we have a secure situation of guarantees and peace for all Nicaraguan families. There is a feeling of insecurity. This feeling is made evident by the situation you just mentioned. Many people want to withdraw their money from the bank.

We believe that this climate of uncertainty that some people and small sectors want to create by saying that we want to plunder public resources, that we are pardoning people who have committed crimes, although no crime may have been committed, does not contribute to the creation of a climate of peace that would be conducive to an orderly transfer of power.

We believe that as the transition teams of President-elect Violeta Chamorro and of President Ortega are able to report to the nation on the progress being made, peace and security will be enhanced for the benefit of all Nicaraguans, who at this moment are full of concern and uncertainty. We believe that such reports would contribute to the country's stability and to a peaceful transition.

We think that the country's economic programs from now until 25 April must be based on a national understanding. I must say that we have doubts about adopting economic measures that slander and accusations could be leveled against.

The adoption of economic measures at this moment is truly a delicate matter. Everything having to do with price increases, fuel, and banking security must be the result of agreements between the transition teams so there is shared responsibility in the economic measures we will be adopting before the transfer of power.

The government has decided not to hinder the transfer of power. We are doing this through laws and effective measures. The elimination of the elements that are causing uncertainty is not going to be easy. We are not the ones creating uncertainty. We are prepared to contribute to the creation of a constructive climate for the benefit of an orderly transition of power.

[Reporter] I want to know what will happen with the suit Nicaragua has filed at The Hague. President George Bush has said the United States owes nothing to Nicaragua and that it is doing enough by lifting the economic embargo on this country.

[Ramirez] I have not been thinking about this. The current government has its attorneys at The Hague working in favor of Nicaragua. We have already won a suit at the International Court of Justice. We are in the phase of assessing the damage inflicted on Nicaragua by the U.S. aggression. The court is acting on this and we will continue to do so until the last day we govern this country. If there are no more questions...

[Cerva] I am Danilo Cerva, of the El Pensamiento newscast. You first spoke of the Amnesty and National Reconciliation Law. This law calls for protecting public officials from slander. Later you spoke of rumors and specifically the ones about plundering state assets. Do

you not think that with the promulgation of the Amnesty and National Reconciliation Law that uncertainties will be eliminated?

[Ramirez] I think that this law would contribute to that because it speaks not only of economic crimes, but also of crimes against the security of the state by counterrevolutionary forces and of crimes committed by government military and civilian authorities while in pursuit of people who have broken the laws. Everywhere in the world, amnesty laws are of general application. They cover as many people as possible. The idea is to restore a climate of peace and calm and this is what we are trying to do with this law. Amnesty means forgetting. This amnesty law also calls for national reconciliation. This is its political will. The new government to be installed on 25 April will have to decide whether or not to extend the amnesty law to cover a period we are not covering. I think a decision in that direction would be positive.

[Reporter] Dr. Ramirez, is there any plan for a meeting between the Sandinist Government and the contras? How [words indistinct] from the contras?

[Ramirez] There is no plan for any kind of communication, contact, or meeting with the counterrevolutionaries. Our policy is clear on this. It has the general backing of all the presidents who are attending the transfer-of-power ceremony in Chile. President Ortega discussed this with the president of Venezuela and the prime minister of Spain when he visited Venezuela. It was also discussed later when Presidents Carlos Andres Perez, Leonardo Callejas, and Oscar Arias accompanied President Ortega as they all traveled with Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez in the prime minister's plane from Caracas to Chile.

They all agree that the counterrevolutionary forces must be immediately disarmed without delay or excuses. This has been publicly stated by Nicaraguan President-elect Violeta Chamorro. No one in the world is debating whether the contras should or should not be disarmed, and the Nicaraguan Government is not going to start discussions in this regard. Our firm position, which is fully backed, is that the disarming of the contras must take place as soon as possible so that on 25 April there is peace in the country and there are no war threats or armed bands killing and kidnapping people and sowing unrest in Nicaragua's countryside and mountains.

This is what the country needs. What we demand from the U.S. Government is that the aid it has apportioned to the contras as humanitarian aid be immediately apportioned to the International Commission of Support and Verification [CIAV], which is the mechanism the Central American governments chose for the dismantling of the contras. Any new resource approved by the United States, or by the U.S. Congress on a request from the executive branch, must also be turned over to the CIAV so it can be placed at the disposition of already-established mechanisms for disarming and dismantling a force that continues to threaten the peace and security of all Nicaraguans.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct].

[Ramirez] The government will have to make a decision on whether to pursue the suit, which I think is just and which has been proven to be just. The International Court of Justice has ruled in favor of Nicaragua. Nicaragua, as a sovereign state, has acquired an unrenounceable right to demand an assessment of the damages caused by the aggression on the country. This is a suit that has been filed at the International Court of Justice. Nicaragua has a favorable ruling already. If there are no further questions, I will say thank you. Have a good day.

### Recent Contra Attacks 'Violate' Cease-Fire

*PA1403151090 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] An officer and a reservist have been wounded and another reservist is missing as a result of the latest contra actions. The contras continues to violate the government's unilateral cease-fire. FS [expansion unknown] First Lieutenant Marcelino Areas was killed 10 March during a contra ambush in La Cabana, north of La Concordia. This acton was repelled by eight militiamen in the sector. Another mercenary group in the sector ambushed militiamen last 11 March in El Nispero, between Esteli and Leon. During this action, Juan Ramon Flores and Guillermo Rodriguez, who had inflicted two casualties on the contras, were wounded and kidnapped, respectively. The Sandinist People's Army Command Staff reported another contra attack in the First Region during the past five days; among them, a clash took place in Cerro El Coyote, El Carmen, and in Villa El Pune area in San Rafael del Norte. Also, a group of approximately 120 contras attacked the Rapid Hunter battalions, Oscar Turcio and Jorge Alberto Martinez, in Yali sector.

## Panama

### Government Wants U.S. Compensation for Equipment

*PA1503002990 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Ruben Dario Carles, comptroller general of the Republic, said today that after consultations with President Guillermo Endara it was agreed to ask the U.S. Government to pay for or compensate Panama for the military equipment, weapons, and other military supplies that belonged to the now defunct Panama Defense Forces [FDP].

Carles said that this equipment cannot be regarded as spoils of war, and he agrees with the view that this equipment must leave Panama. In fact, the U.S. Southern Command has already shipped substantial

quantities of this materiel to the United States, the comptroller added. What we have to agree on now is the form and amount of compensation the Republic of Panama must receive; afterall, this military equipment was obtained primarily through purchases paid for by Panama. President Endara told me that one option to which he will give priority—other than the possiblity of receiving cash—is that the United States exchange or barter the military equipment for items that will ensure Panama's progress, well-being, and growth, Carles said. Such would be the case of medical equipment, surgical material, transportation equipment for civilian use, agricultural equipment, and equipment for the Panama Railroad.

The national government is in no way interested in military equipment or materiel. For that reason, it has accepted the withdrawal of the Noriega regime's war material, the comptroller general stressed, noting that President Endara agrees with the position that payment of some type should be made to Panama.

### Top PRD Leader Says Coup 'Would Be Untimely'

*PA1503010090 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2319 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Leaders of the Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD, gave assurances today that a military coup by the new Public Force would be untimely. Carlos Duque, president of the PRD's National Executive Committee, said that he does not approve of a coup d'etat or violence as a means of attaining power. I do not believe the slightest bit in a coup, Duque told the national and international press. He added that any future change of government in Panama must be democratic and the result of elections.

Duque, who advocates national reconciliation and reconstruction, said that the PRD will participate in the upcoming election of legislators in nine circuits that could not be defined because of irregularities in the 7 May elections.

### Colombians Terrorize Community; Threaten AFB

*PA1403180190 Panama City EL SIGLO in Spanish 14 Mar 90 p 29*

[Text] A band of Colombian criminals and drug traffickers has invaded the Veracruz community in the Arraijan District. According to eyewitness reports, these criminals are well armed and apparently willing to fight to the end to maintain the network left to them by former dictator Manuel Antonio Noreiga.

"They have weapons similar to those used by the murderous 'dignity battalions' and have received many late-night visits; some neighbors say they also sell drugs," said a Veracruz resident who did not want to be identified for fear of retaliation by the Colombian criminals.

The charges presented by Veracruz residents may lead to another police operation that will eliminate, once and for all, these bands of armed assailants and drug traffickers previously armed by Manuel Antonio Noreiga's dictatorship. The most dangerous aspect of this situation are rumors in the corregimiento that many Colombians, who escaped from the recent police operation in Curundu, are hiding in Veracruz, and this clearly indicates that there is indeed a fearless band of Panamanian and Colombian criminals.

As far as investigation can tell us, U.S. Southern Command troops in Panama are guarding the Veracruz area to prevent criminals from leaving. By doing this, they would be able to arrest the followers of General Noriega, currently under arrest in Florida on drug-trafficking charges, at any time.

A citizen by the name of Cueto, who is frightened by the crimes in Veracruz, said that "one of these drug dealers distributed a leaflet on the night of 11 March that warned the population that anyone who reports the members of the pro-Noriega band living in Veracruz to the authorities would die immediately with their tongues hanging like a tie. The leaflet adds that in a few days the band will place bombs near Howard Air Force Base to avenge the arrest of their leaders in the Curundu neighborhood."

Finally, EL SIGLO has learned that the criminals and drug dealers, who have invaded Veracruz, have small canoes and small motorboats which they use to travel to the capital posing as fishermen. In these small boats, they transport the drugs that they will sell during the week in Panama City; the drugs are stored in various houses in Veracruz.

It is important to note that most of these criminals belong to the Codepadi [Committee for the Defense of the Fatherland and Dignity] and the Dignity Battalions, and as far as we could determine, they are still receiving support from people who thrived during the previous government, and who are continuing to struggle for Noriega's return.

### Uruguay Recognizes Endara; Ambassador To Return

*PA1503002290 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2320 GMT 14 Mar*

[Text] The Uruguayan Government headed by Alberto Lacalle, who assumed power on 1 March, today recognized Guillermo Endara as the president of Panama and instructed its ambassador, Gaston Sciarra, to return to Panama and resume his duties.

Uruguay withdrew its ambassador when Manuel Antonio Noriega assumed the functions of head of state in Panama. After this occurred, a study was made of the situation in Panama and that study has now ended, according to an official communique issued by the Uruguayan Foreign Ministry.

## Argentina

### U.S. Vice President Quayle Visits Country

#### Meets With Menem

*PY1403150690 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 0028 GMT 13 Mar 90*

[Text] Buenos Aires, 13 Mar (DYN)—Argentine President Carlos Menem and U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle today termed the Latin American democratization process as "very favorable." Quayle noted that "the international financing agencies are closely following" the economic program being implemented in Argentina.

This announcement was made by presidential spokesman Humberto Toledo, who also reported that Quayle handed Menem a "personal" letter from George Bush. Toledo did not specify the contents of the letter.

Menem and Quayle met for over one hour at Government House. Also attending the meeting were Economy Minister Antonio Erman Gonzalez, Defense Minister Humberto Romero, U.S. Ambassador to Argentina Terence Todman, Argentine Ambassador to the United States Guido di Tella, and Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo.

Toledo, who described the meeting as "very good," said that "it was held within the framework of excellent U.S.-Argentine relations."

Toledo said Argentina "did not ask for financial aid from the United States," adding that the only issue discussed during the meeting was bilateral trade relations.

In this regard, Toledo said that "tonight or tomorrow" Quayle will meet Erman Gonzalez to discuss concrete aspects of U.S.-Argentine trade.

Toledo said President Bush's visit to Argentina scheduled for September has not yet been confirmed. He remarked that "Bush's possible visit has been discussed since President Menem's visit to Washington," shortly after the latter took office.

Concerning the Latin American democratization process, Menem and Quayle termed it as "very favorable." They especially stressed the openness of the Nicaraguan electoral process, which concluded with the defeat of Sandinism.

In this regard, Toledo said: "Quayle made a brief comment on the situation created by new democracies in the region, a fact that was described by Quayle and Menem as very promising." They also described increased trade among Latin American countries and with the United States as "essential".

Toledo made it clear that Quayle "did not make any type of comment" about the worrisome Argentine socioeconomic situation and its possible outcomes.

Menem and Quayle's meeting began shortly after 1800 and ended at approximately 1915. Before the meeting, the two dignitaries exchanged cordial greetings and jokes in the White Room of Government House.

Following the meeting, Menem accompanied Quayle as far as the esplanade of Government House, where they said goodbye. They will meet again at the Alvear Palace Hotel tonight.

Early tomorrow, Quayle will have a working breakfast with Argentine lawmakers at the U.S. Embassy residence, where he will also host a news conference with local and foreign journalists.

Quayle and Menem will meet again in Brasilia on 14 March during President-elect Fernando Collor de Mello's inauguration.

#### No Mention of Cuba Issue

*PY1503030390 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 0015 GMT 15 Mar 90*

[Text] Brasilia, 14 Mar (NA)—Argentine Presidential Spokesman Humberto Toledo has reported here that, for the time being, President Carlos Menem has no scheduled meeting with Fidel Castro, head of the Cuban Government.

Toledo categorically denied that U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle had suggested to Menem that he pressure Fidel Castro in some way to convince Castro to stop supporting the Salvadoran revolutionaries who are fighting against the government of Alfredo Cristiani.

An international agency yesterday suggested that Quayle, in his brief visit to Argentina, had suggested to President Menem that he join the U.S. effort to pressure Cuba. That effort was apparently strengthened by the downfall of General Antonio Noriega in Panama and the defeat of the Sandinist movement in Nicaragua.

Toledo stated: "At no time did the U.S. officials mention the Cuban issue to President Menem. But they did express interest in strengthening ties between Argentina and Brazil."

### Menem Leaves for Brasilia To Attend Inauguration

*PY1403165490 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1536 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Buenos Aires, 14 Mar (TELAM)—The plane carrying President Carlos Menem and his entourage to the Federative Republic of Brazil, where Menem will attend the inauguration of Brazilian President-elect Fernando Collor de Mello, took off from Aeroparque Metropolitan Airport today at 1226.

The presidential entourage consists of Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo, presidential spokesman Humberto Toledo, and Raul Carignano, under secretary for Latin American affairs.

The T-01 presidential plane is scheduled to land at the Brasilia military air base at 1520 Brasilia time. After the official welcoming ceremony, Menem will go to the Naoum Hotel, where he will stay during his visit to Brasilia.

### Economy Ministry Secretaries Asked To Resign

*PY1403222490 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 2040 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Buenos Aires, 14 Mar (NA)—Economy Ministry sources have reported that Economy Minister Antonio Erman Gonzalez today asked all ministry secretaries and under secretaries to tender their resignations.

The minister apparently made this decision because he wants to entirely reorganize his team over the next few days. The reorganization seeks to reduce the government machine and will take place now that the Central Bank chairman and the economy deputy minister have resigned.

### Resignation of Central Bank Head Accepted

*PY1403182590 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 13 Mar 90 p 1*

[Text] (NA)—The government last night accepted Central Bank President Enrique Folcini's resignation—offered last Wednesday [6 March]—but still has not determined who will replace him.

Sources close to the Economy Ministry said that Minister Antonio Erman Gonzalez might very possibly take over the responsibility himself.

Folcini resigned last week due to a series of accusations regarding awarding rediscount lines to troubled financial entities.

### Italian Premier Andreotti Pledges 'Full Support'

*AU1403152690 Rome ANSA in English 1005 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] (ANSA) Buenos Aires, March 14—Italian Premier Giulio Andreotti pledged full support to Argentina's renewed democracy and announced Rome's plan for a 150 million dollar emergency aid package during his 24-hour official visit here on Tuesday [13 March].

In an address to a joint session of Congress, delivered in Spanish, Andreotti said, "Democracies must be helped while they are alive rather than be missed when they die." His speech also touched on the problem of Latin America's massive foreign debt, which "causes so much suffering and threatens this great continent." Brazil has the highest foreign debt in the world, 117 billion dollars, followed by Argentina with 67 billion dollars.

"How could we morally and socially justify with political reasons," Andreotti continued, "aid to Eastern Europe, which is also in debt, but subordinate the solution to Latin American indebtedness to financial needs of a private nature?" God forbid, he concluded, "if the novelties in Eastern Europe make us forget the other historic duty which is upon us: to encourage and support democracies in all of Latin America." [quotation marks as received]

After his address Andreotti held talks with President Carlos Saul Menem at the Casa Rosada.

The announced emergency aid will include 90 million in grants and 60 million in soft loans. Health and food supplies will be delivered very shortly, he said, while the soft loans will be used for three major projects: the modernization of the Buenos Aires telephone system, to cost 50 million dollars; the overhaul of four turbines at the Costanera electric power plant, for 100 million dollars; the restructurization of the "A" line of the capital's subway, used by over 3.5 million passengers daily, for 50 million dollars. Other financed projects include a computer system for labor courts and an environmental plan to save marine life threatened as a result of the construction of the Yacireta dam a few years ago.

Afternoon meetings include the signing of a health and of a low income housing cooperation project protocol by Foreign Under-Secretary Susanna Agnelli.

Andreotti returned to the issue of foreign indebtedness at a joint press conference held this afternoon, saying that Italy wants to contribute to the solution of the problem. (?Europe), he said, must take on the load of supporting newborn democracies in the East, "but absolutely not at the expense of developing countries and especially those of Latin America."

With President Menem, he continued, "we have acknowledged that the carrying out of accords must be political, because sometimes bureaucracy has a character of its own and we instead feel that it is necessary to hurry."

"That is why, Andreotti said, Italy and Argentina have decided to go ahead "with pragmatism, trying to do more useful things." [quotation marks as received]

Commenting on the increasing privatization of Argentinian industry, Andreotti noted that "it is not a question of going into philosophical discussions to decide whether private or public is better, but to try to provide the best service at the lowest cost."

President Menem hosted a dinner Tuesday evening for Andreotti, attended also by United States Vice-President Dan Quayle and Spanish Premier Felipe Gonzales.

Andreotti is expected to arrive in Brazil this evening.

### UCR Statement on Political, Economic Situation

*PY1403125590 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1118 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Text] Buenos Aires, 10 Mar (NA)—The Radical Civic Union [UCR] has called on the Justicialist Party and all the other parties to come to a political agreement. The UCR conditioned the agreement, however, on the preparation of an anti-inflationary program based on a stable dollar and fiscal expenditure controls, not sacrificial of social expenditures.

The document that was released yesterday by the UCR National Committee was signed by its president, Raul Alfonsin. The document was released after a 24-hour delay while the committee awaited "confidential" talks with leaders of the Justicialist Party. The results of these talks are not known.

Regarding the critical national situation, the UCR says that "the political agreement is the basic instrument to create confidence and credibility." Otherwise, "the sectorial negotiations may lead to contradictory [words indistinct].

The UCR, after stressing "its desire to cooperate in overcoming our grave difficulties," emphasized that "the only way to reach higher levels of well-being, job opportunity, and growth is to defeat hyperinflation."

"The agreement among parties should be based on the contents and instruments of a program to stabilize the economy, a better distribution of the social and economic costs of such a program, a commitment to leave this agreement out of everyday politics, and a joint effort to find the necessary financial resources and to negotiate the foreign debt," the document stresses.

The declaration is entitled: "Hyperinflation is the economy of violence; it must be stopped if social peace is to be consolidated." The document talks about the importance "of a coordinated and coherent interrelation among different government departments" and about the need to let Congress play a true role in formulating policies.

Regarding the economy, the document stresses that "it is necessary to stabilize the foreign exchange market to control hyperinflation." It adds that "the fiscal plan must clearly state which areas of public spending will be maintained and which will be postponed."

In the document, the UCR recognizes that the privatization of public enterprises "is essential" but warns that the process must be "devoid of demands for immediate and automatic results, avoiding auctioning." The declaration says that "the fiscal program should not be drawn up as a search for a surplus at any price, which would sacrifice our social needs to satisfy the demands of our foreign creditors." The UCR demands that the government reassign funds to food, health, and education programs to help solve the grave situation in these areas.

The UCR believes that it is essential "to guarantee a basic food ration" for poor people. The document adds that we need to "ensure the minimum health assistance—through the public hospital—and make basic medicines accessible" to those who need them most.

The UCR says it is essential "to ensure that poor children can attend school" and that it would be convenient to implement "a program of labor assistance" to maintain an appropriate employment rate. The UCR wants "to strengthen and temporarily broaden the system of job subsidies, to implement the emergency training and retraining of jobless people, and to immediately implement a minimum job program."

## Bolivia

### U.S. Offers Money for Military Aid in Drug Fight

*PY1403035090 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 0236 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] La Paz, 13 Mar (AFP)—General Jorge Moreira, Armed Forces commander in chief, today told La Paz Radio Panamericana that the U.S. Government has offered the Bolivian Armed Forces $40 million to use in the fight against drugs.

The high-ranking military chief said the U.S. offer was formally presented this afternoon through Robert Gelbard, the U.S. ambassador in La Paz.

If this cooperation becomes concrete, Gen. Moreira said, the Armed Forces are ready "to face any" eventuality in the antidrug fight. He pointed out that the three branches of the Armed Forces could take part in the fight "whenever President Paz Zamora ordered them to. The Armed Forces can take part in preventive operations against the illegal use of drugs and drug trafficking, and aid in projects aimed at providing alternatives crops to coca," the raw material used in producing cocaine. Bolivia is the second largest coca producer in the world. [Words indistinct] that the offer was made in compliance with a decision by the U.S. Congress.

Gen. Moreira added, however, that the final decision about the Armed Forces participation in the fight against drug trafficking "is up to the president of the Republic."

A few days ago, the president said that, "for the time being," military participation in the antidrug fight is not necessary. The president also said that the current police force is enough for the fight.

In the last few days, proposed military participation has been harshly criticized and rejected by several political groups in Bolivia. Unusually, the various groups agreed unanimously that if the Armed Forces took part in this fight, their personnel would face the risk of becoming corrupt.

Currently, the fight against drug trafficking and against coca and cocaine production is being run by the Interior

Ministry and the National Police. Both institutions are economically supported by the government, friendly countries, and international cooperation organizations.

### L.A. Parliament To Meet in La Paz 19-20 Mar

*PY1403124590 La Paz Television Boliviana Network in Spanish 0030 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Chamber of Deputies Vice President Edgar Barrientos has announced that the Latin American Parliament will meet in La Paz on 19 and 20 March. The main topic on the agenda will be the consequences of the U.S. invasion of Panama.

[Begin Barrientos recording] I want to announce to the nation, particularly to legislators throughout the country, that the Latin American Parliament will hold a special session in La Paz on 19 and 20 March.

The meeting and the necessary quorum have been confirmed. The meeting will take place at the request of the Bolivian Congress. The Chamber of Deputies has taken all the appropriate measures to ensure logistical support and appropriate press coverage. This is the first Latin American event in the country. All we have had before was an Andean Parliament meeting with five countries in attendance. This time the event will include 20 countries, and I think it will be a very important event.

We will discuss controversial issues such as sovereignty, the Panama Canal, and problems posed by the U.S. invasion of Panama. [end recording]

### Major Drug Trafficker Perregon Apprehended

*PY1303133090 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2353 GMT 12 Mar 90*

[Text] La Paz, 12 Mar (EFE)—The Special Antinarcotics Force today reported the arrest of Osvaldo Perregon, the "number six big shot" among Bolivian drug traffickers, who had been at large since last year. Special Antinarcotics Force Commander Lucio Anez Rivera reported that Perregon, whose participation in auto races earned him the nickname of "Piquin" in Bolivian sports circles, was arrested early on 11 March on the outskirts of Santa Cruz, 903 km east of La Paz.

The drug trafficker had been at large since December 1989, after a spectacular escape from antidrug forces in his private plane in Chapare, Cochabamba. Anez noted that measures have been adopted to ensure that the detainee will not escape, and he will be handled by the special antidrug courts.

The commander said that Perregon's property was confiscated in December 1989 because of his involvement in drug trafficking. Anes announced that the special antinarcotics force confiscated a ranch, a mansion in Santa Cruz, a plane, a race car, and other goods that Perregon had purchased through his illegal activities.

The properties were transferred to various state organizations in keeping with the terms of Law 1008 on "special regulations for coca and controlled substances," which authorizes the confiscation of goods owned by persons linked to the production and trafficking of drugs.

## Brazil

### Foreign Dignitaries Here for Collor Inauguration

#### Argentina's Menem Welcomed

*PY1403205490 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1916 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Brasilia, 14 Mar (EFE)—Argentine President Carlos Menem arrived in Brasilia this afternoon to attend the ceremony in which Fernando Collor de Mello will be sworn in. The ceremony will be held in Brasilia tomorrow afternoon.

Menem was welcomed at the Brasilia International Airport by Brazilian Foreign Minister Roberto de Abreu Sodre, who is in charge of officially welcoming the foreign officials who will attend the installation ceremony.

Before the end of the day, Uruguayan President Luis Alberto Lacalle, Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, and Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti will also arrive in Brasilia, thus completing the group of 18 chiefs of state who will attend tomorrow's ceremonies.

Outgoing Brazilian President Jose Sarney will greet the foreign delegations at the presidential palace in the first official act this afternoon.

#### Nicaragua's Ortega Arrives

*PY1403214090 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 1600 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Excerpt] More presidents are arriving in Brasilia to attend Fernando Collor's inauguration. Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega arrived this morning at the Brasilia air base. He was welcomed by Foreign Minister Abreu Sodre. The welcoming ceremony is the same for all presidents. They review the troops and listen to the national anthems of Brazil and of their respective countries. [passage omitted]

#### Cuba's Castro Arrives

*PY1503010290 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 2310 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Cuban President Fidel Castro has arrived in Brasilia to be present during President Collor's inauguration ceremony tomorrow.

### Spain's Prime Minister

*PY1503021290 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0000 GMT 15 Mar 90*

[Excerpts] Brasilia, 14 Mar (EFE)—Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez today arrived at the Brasilia military base to attend the inauguration of Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello on 15 March.

This is the last leg of Gonzalez' tour through Latin America, which began in Caracas and continued through Santiago, Buenos Aires, and Montevideo. [passage omitted]

The plane which brought the Spanish Prime Minister and his entourage from Montevideo, Uruguay, landed at the Brasilia Air Force base at 1900 (2200 GMT).

### Takeshita Represents Japan

*OW1503055590 Tokyo KYODO in English 0333 GMT 15 Mar 90*

[Text] Brasilia, March 14 KYODO—Japan's former Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita arrived here on Wednesday [14 March] and paid a courtesy call on Brazilian President Jose Sarney at the presidential office.

During the 20-minute talk, Takeshita thanked Sarney for his attendance at the funeral of the late Emperor Hirohito in February 1989.

Takeshita said he is delighted that four yen loan projects worth 480 million dollars are to be materialized.

Sarney said he will make further efforts to strengthen bilateral ties after he leaves office.

Takeshita is visiting Brazil as a special envoy to attend the inauguration of President Fernando Collor de Mello, who takes over for President Sarney on Thursday.

Collor de Mello is the first president chosen by popular election in Brazil in 29 years.

### Collor Dissolves SNI, Creates New Secretariat

*PY1403215090 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 1600 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Excerpt] President-elect Fernando Collor today announced that the National Service for Intelligence, SNI, will be dissolved as of tomorrow. Collor de Mello also confirmed the designation of Francisco Rezek as his future foreign minister.

The dissolution of the SNI was the first announcement made by the future president. He said that he was fulfilling another campaign promise. His new government is creating the Secretariat for Strategic Matters, which will be headed by Pedro Paulo Leoni Ramos. This secretariat will be directly linked to the government council. [passage omitted]

### Sarney Administration Devalues New Cruzado

*PY1503014090 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 14 Mar 90 p 5*

[Excerpt] Brasilia—Last night the Brazilian Government devalued the new cruzado 10.72 percent against the U.S. dollar. The new official exchange rate for the U.S. dollar is now 42.294 and 42.506 new cruzados to buy and to sell, respectively. This may not be the last devaluations ordered by the Sarney administration because the incoming administration is not scheduled to take over until 15 March. [passage omitted]

### Nicaragua's Ortega Speaks to Students in Brasilia

*PY1503022490 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 2310 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega arrived this morning in Brasilia. At noon he accomplished the first item on his agenda: a lecture to students at Brasilia University.

Although defeated a month ago at the presidential elections in Nicaragua by opposition candidate Violeta Chamorro, Daniel Ortega stated that the Sandinist revolution is still alive. He discarded the possibility of a coup d'etat. He clearly explained that he will conduct a constructive opposition to the new government.

Ortega compared his defeat to that of PT [Workers Party] candidate Luis Inacio da Silva, Lula. He said: losing the elections does not mean giving up the struggle.

### * PT Dream of Shadow Government Fading

*90ET0138B Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 10 Feb 90 p 7*

[Article by Fernanda Franco]

[Text] Defeated in the presidential election, the PT [Workers Party] today completes its 10th year of radical opposition with a dream of becoming the government, albeit a shadow government. In an interview yesterday in the Municipal Directorate, Jose Dirceu, secretary general of the party, affirmed that, on 15 March, Luis Inacio Lula da Silva will take command of a PT "make-believe" government, at the same time Fernando Collor is receiving the presidential mantle in Brasilia. Just 33 days away from the inauguration, however, the PT has nothing concrete except the seat of the so-called parallel cabinet—a rented house on Rua Primeiro de Janeiro, in Vila Mariana District in Sao Paulo—and the intention of holding a meeting in the next few days with the coordinators of the 25 teams that drew up the party's program of government during last year's campaign.

In the meeting of the National Directorate 2 weeks ago, when the organization of a shadow government was approved (with 40 votes in favor and only 3 opposed), the first question raised was that of financial viability; it will be necessary to hire personnel, maintain the offices of the cabinet and set up a modern communications

system. It was already known that the PT would have difficulty shifting funds from its budget for the project. The solution arrived at was to seek funding through donations from members and others sympathetic to the idea.

Olivio Dutra, mayor of Porto Alegre, was present at the meeting. He criticized the preoccupation with the shadow government, arguing that the party should be making an effort to assist the municipal administrations. Jaco Bittar, mayor of Campinas, had the same criticism: "We are talking about a parallel government when we have the real responsibility of governing the most important cities in the country."

In addition to encountering internal resistance, the project has not succeeded in exciting other parties on the Left. "The idea is ridiculous," was the reaction of Roberto Freire, leader of the PCB [Brazilian Communist Party] in the Chamber. "In Brazil, the proper place for the opposition to act is in the Congress," observed Haroldo Lima, leader of the PC do B [Communist Party of Brazil]. Joao Herrmann, leader of the PSB [Brazilian Socialist Party], was also opposed. In his opinion, a PT shadow government muddies the waters in the struggle for a parliamentary regime, which could be adopted in 1993, by plebiscite, as provided in the Constitution. "This could end in a parallel government which proposes and does not execute," Herrmann declared. After various negotiations with the other opposition parties, Luiz Gushiken, national president of the PT, gave up. "We know this idea depends basically on us alone."

**Old Dream**

In 1982, when he lost the battle for the Palacio dos Bandeirantes to Franco Montoro, who was then in the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party], Lula suggested that the party form a shadow cabinet. The lack of organization and cadres soon forced him to give up the idea. "It has never left my mind," Lula confesses today. "I don't know the proper name for it, but I was thinking of a working group that could maintain a strong opposition to the government, putting out alternative proposals." Last 17 December, after he had voted, Lula went to rest at the country home of his friend Jose Gomes da Silva, in Pirassununga, in the interior of Sao Paulo. Two days later, conceding defeat, he remembered the old idea and even mentioned it during a quick visit to deputies Plinio de Arruda Sampaio and Gushiken.

On his return to Sao Paulo on 20 December, he held a press conference and announced the formation of the shadow government, to the surprise of the entire party. "This is the first time I have heard of it," Jose Dirceu commented shortly after the press conference. Less than a month later, the PT had an outline for the cabinet. For each ministry in Collor's government, the party would have a task force that should be prepared to come up with criticisms and alternatives, in an attempt to demonstrate what Lula would do if he had won the election. "If it does not work out, only time will tell," admits Lula, who still nourishes the dream of seeing other parties on the Left engaged in the project. "We are introducing an innovation in the country and anything new has difficulty being accepted."

### * April Seminar To Promote Soviet Trade

*90ET0138D Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 2 Feb 90 p 4*

[Article by Helena Vieira]

[Text] Within 2 months, the prospects for expanding trade relations between Brazil and the Soviet Union, fostered by President-elect Fernando do Collor's visit to that country, will be more clearly defined. On 18 and 19 April, representatives of the two countries will hold the first Brazilian-USSR Business Conference, to take place at the Sao Paulo Business Center. The meeting, for which the arrangements are still in progress, calls for the participation of the principal representatives of the Brazilian and Soviet economies, businessmen, and politicians. "It is a chance to establish direct contact with private and state companies in the foreign trade area," explains Gennadiy Gorvitovskiy, chief engineer of the Soviet Union's trade office in Sao Paulo.

In the next few days, a representative of LUKR, a company specializing in the organization of international events, will meet in Moscow with the directorate of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry to discuss all the details of organizing the conference, which is being promoted by the GAZETA MERCANTIL and sponsored by the Sao Paulo State Bank (NABESPA). One of the most prominent Soviets on the invitation list for the conference is Vladimir Mitrofanov, executive director of the USSR Association of Joint Ventures. "We have a great interest in the formation of joint ventures with Brazil," Gorvitovskiy explains.

The Soviets hope to establish equilibrium in the Brazilian-Soviet trade balance within a short time. Last year, the Brazilian economy registered $83.3 million (about 1.5 billion new cruzados) in sales and purchases between the two countries. Figuring prominently in the small group of Soviet products that come into this country are vodka—with annual sales of about $5,600 (99,000 new cruzados)—and chemical fertilizers, with sales totaling $5.8 million (102.6 million new cruzados) in 1988. The Soviet Union specializes in the manufacture of the latter. Another area which has developed substantially under the Communist regime is public transportation. "We want to export our state-of-the-art technology in the area of mass transport," Gorvitovskiy said.

## Chile

### President Patricio Aylwin Holds News Conference

*PY1403161690 Santiago Radio Cooperativa Network in Spanish 2158 GMT 13 Mar 90*

[News conference by Chilean President Patricio Aylwin with foreign and local reporters at Hotel Carrera in Santiago, moderated by unidentified government official—live]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[Moderator] Tom Harris, UPI.

[Harris] Mr. President, before taking office, you were very careful when you talked about the continuation of General Augusto Pinochet as Army commander in chief. Today you are president and you have all the legal power in your hands. Are you going to harden your position regarding Gen. Pinochet?

[Aylwin] There is no reason to change my opinion at this time. I have said that according to Chilean law Gen. Pinochet can remain as Army commander in chief, as he has chosen. The day I took office he came to greet me in his capacity as Army commander in chief and expressed his willingness to cooperate with the current institutional order. I trust the Chilean Armed Forces will begin this new stage in our national life by returning to their professional duties and will explicitly respect the hierarchy of the constitutional powers to which they must be subordinated.

[Moderator] Victor de la Fuente, Radio France International.

[De la Fuente] Human rights violations in Chile have really created an adverse reaction the world over. Yesterday you said the moral conscience of the nation demands that the truth be discovered about the missing people, the horrendous crimes, and the grave human rights violations during the dictatorship. Can you tell us what exact measures you will implement to discover the truth about these crimes or will you simply leave it to the courts to decide?

[Aylwin] The government has a commitment to the nation to cooperate in discovering the truth. My administration will soon announce the measures it will adopt to facilitate the process; with due respect for the principle of separation of the powers of the different branches of government. According to this principle, the courts must decide on criminal activities. It is not appropriate for special commissions or for the legislative or executive branches to interfere. I do not think I should announce those measures here. The country will know about them in the next few days.

[Moderator] Anthony Batley, REUTER.

[Batley] The tax increases you have proposed do not seem enough to finance your social reform programs. What other measures will you adopt to carry out your programs without making the mistakes of other Latin American countries?

[Aylwin] We think the tax increases we are proposing will improve our chances of financing social programs. We also trust we will be able to assign more resources to these ends if we renegotiate our foreign debt. We trust we will have some international cooperation during our first year to help us resolve the most acute problems of housing, health, and education. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] Juan Irigaray, Television Espanola

[Irigaray] Mr. President, I would like to know what you are prepared to give up encouraging Pinochet to accept your suggestion to resign as commander of the Army?

[Aylwin] Look, I am not overly concerned about this. I do not believe that Chile's problem is whether or not Gen. Pinochet stays on as commander of the Army. We Chileans have many other important and burning problems we must resolve. Therefore, it is not a question of [words indistinct]. I have nothing to give up, neither do I propose to make concessions to attain this objective. We have other objectives, which I outlined yesterday, the same ones that are set forth in the program of coalition.

[Moderator] Giorgio Vagoni, ANSA.

[Vagoni] Mr. President, lately, certain sectors of the coalition of parties that supported you have been charging that Gen. Pinochet was setting up a parallel government. They went as far as talking about a shadow cabinet, a military council. Do you believe Gen. Pinochet has managed to set up this parallel government.

[Aylwin] I have no information that there is such a parallel government. I believe developments will show if this is in fact being done. I believe that if an attempt were made to do this, it would violate the Constitution which states that the Armed Forces are subordinate to the president of the nation, that they are under the jurisdiction of the Defense Ministry, and that they are nonpartisan and nondeliberative. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] Jorge Uribe, Radio Excelsior of Mexico.

[Uribe] Mr. President. You have repeatedly voiced your decision that the courts will be tasked with investigating crimes of human rights violations. Does this mean, Mr. President, that you have confidence in the judicial branch which has been so harshly criticized over the past 16 years of military government?

[Aylwin] I think the judicial branch in Chile, and especially the Supreme Court, has been justly criticized. The speech made by the Supreme Court president at the dedication of the new judicial year on 1 March confirms our observations and criticisms, and shows the need for important changes. But those criticisms do not imply that we have no confidence in the independence of the judicial branch under a democratic government, that the democratic government will not give the judges the effective police cooperation to find the truth, or that the courts will not see justice served. On the contrary, I believe that under these new circumstances, the courts will act correctly.

[Moderator] Mr. Peter Paul, LONDON DAILY of England.

[Paul] Mr. President, you said yesterday that you will sign decrees pardoning some political prisoners. Can you

explain the criteria by which some prisoners have been released, and how many more will be released over the next few days?

[Aylwin] What I can say is that the decrees I signed have benefitted about 40 people. We hope to be able to sign other decrees over the next few days to release about the same number. We are studying legal formulas so as to proceed as fast and as effectively as possible. The problem is that the president of the Republic cannot pardon those facing trials, but only those who have already been sentenced. The situation of most prisoners is that they are still being tried,and have not been sentenced. They have been imprisoned several years, since many of these trials last for years, before being found innocent or guilty. They have been kept in custody only because they were presumed to be guilty. The president's will is not sufficient to solve this problem. Within the Chilean legal system, Congress must also participate, because the law must be amended. To this end, we have forwarded to the National Congress a draft bill that will amend the antiterrorist law, the weapons control law, the internal security law, the military justice code, and the code of penal procedures.

It is not just a matter of miscellaneous laws, as some Chilean newspapers say. They all pertain to this matter, but because the guidelines on this matter are so scattered, it is necessary to amend these laws to correctly face one problem; the problem of trials of those accused of political crimes. We hope Congress will quickly approve these laws, and that these laws will quickly resolve the situation of many people imprisoned for years for presumed crimes.

[Moderator] Nelson Cataldo, [words indistinct].

[Cataldo] [Words indistinct] an interview with the Norwegian representative, who said Norway has 5,000 Chileans living in exile in that country and that they would be returning through the high commissioner [words indistinct]. What can this government offer [words indistinct] when they return?

[Aylwin] I have been told about the 5,000 Chileans in exile. This figure was provided by the Norwegian Government and coincides with our figures. It is not clear if the 5,000 Chileans living in Norway want to return to Chile immediately. The return of the Chileans from exile is a very complex problem that demands goodwill from the host government and from our government.

Chile is open to all Chileans. Chile will not close its doors to any of our countrymen. Therefore, anyone who wants to return can do so. Of course, it is not a simple idea of wanting to return. First, there are cases of people who live in Norway and other countries where they have settled, married, and have children. They are also involved in teaching, in industry, or in other activities; they have roots there. Perhaps there are many who still do not know what to do. For those who want to return it is not just a question of financing their trips, it is a question of opening opportunities for them in Chile.

Although the unemployment figures are low, there is a high percentage of underemployment. We all know that there are many youths who cannot find jobs and make a living in underemployment but appear as employed because they go out to sell articles on the streets, or to sing on buses. The truth is that underemployment is not the solution either and finding work for the people who return from exile is a difficult task. Therefore, we will have to work with the High Commissioner for Refugees, with the UN organizations linked to this issue, and with the human rights organizations. We are going to create a commission which will specifically study this problem and propose solutions. We will have to seek the best solution through cooperation with the countries where the Chilean exiles live. [passage omitted]

### Aylwin Receives Venezuela's Perez, Others

*PY1403223890 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] President Patricio Aylwin has received FRG Labor and Social Affairs Minister Norbert Bluem. They discussed the Dignity Colony among other matters. Aylwin told Bluem that in this country there is no area which is not subjected to the full sway of national sovereignty.

The new president also received, at La Moneda Palace, his first decoration. Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez presented Aylwin with the Simon Bolivar medal. On behalf of the Venezuelan people Perez also invited Aylwin to visit Venezuela.

Aylwin received the Yugoslav vice president, the Belgian prime minister, and the presidents of Portugal and Costa Rica. He received former FRG President Walter Scheel, the French minister of personnel management and administrative reform, and the EEC high commissioner who announced the EEC's intention to raise the rank of his office in Chile to that of an embassy. He also expressed the support of the EEC to Aylwin and his democratic process.

Aylwin received Juan Somavia, newly designated Chilean ambassador to the United Nations, and Piotr Nowina Konopka, minister of state for the office of the president of Poland, who conveyed his people's joy over the reestablishment of relations with Chile. He also invited Aylwin to visit Poland.

### Spanish Prime Minister Gonzalez Continues Visit

#### Signs Cooperation Document

*LD1403101590 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 12 Mar 90*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We now have an account of the meeting between the new Chilean President Patricio Aylwin and Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez. Apart from discussing matters connected with the region and Chile's new situation, they also signed a preliminary

document that will serve as the basis for official understanding and exchange cooperation between the two countries. Javier Arenas now reports from Santiago, Chile, on the meeting and the document:

[Arenas] Half an hour ago, Spain became more committed to Chile following the signing by Patricio Aylwin and Felipe Gonzalez of the two red-bound copies of the bases for the future treaty of cooperation. The figure that sums up the intentions of Felipe Gonzalez's government is $2 billion:

[Begin Gonzalez recording] This document is very important. For me, it is really important from a personal point of view and from the point of view of my responsibility. It is difficult to express it in words. As we have not wanted to start it with just words, we have tried to proceed with the work of signing the bases for cooperation between Spain and Chile. This is what we have just done. Therefore, we are trying to replace discussion of cooperation or talks about solidarity with an agreement facilitating the channelling of that expression which otherwise would be without content. I am really happy to be here today. The last time I was here was in 1977, and you will understand that that explains a lot more than what I can say. [end recording]

[Arenas] [passage omitted] Aylwin told Prime Minister Gonzalez that he had received a telegram of congratulations from King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia and that very soon, perhaps at the end of this year, they might visit Chile at a time that has still not been set officially. [passage omitted]

### Talks With Quayle

*LD1403100590 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 1900 GMT 12 Mar 90*

[Italicized passages recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Santiago, Chile, is the second area of hot foreign news today. While the people continue to celebrate the day after the return to democracy, with the swearing in of the new president, Patricio Aylwin, another important Latin American question, Nicaragua—and by extension Central America—is the reason for many meetings between the various foreign leaders who are in Santiago. [passage omitted] Our special correspondent, Javier Gonzalez, reports from Santiago:

[J. Gonzalez] U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle and Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega met and spoke during the luncheon given by Chilean President Patricio Aylwin for the foreign dignitaries. Earlier this morning, they had exchanged a few words when they met at the Te Deum held in the cathedral. Nothing is yet known, but Quayle asked to meet other leaders to continue talking about Nicaragua. Among these was Felipe Gonzalez, with whom he held a long meeting only two days ago in Caracas. According to the Spanish prime minister, Quayle seems to have been receptive to new ideas:

[F. Gonzalez] *Yes, he expressed an interest in our meeting again [words indistinct], which means the U.S. Administration is receptive to the idea of continuing talks about something that affects the whole world—Violeta Chamorro, Daniel Ortega, President Lacalle, El Salvador, the whole of Central America.*

[J. Gonzalez] In principle, the U.S. vice president is not opposed to the demobilization of the contras:

[F. Gonzalez] *He says it would have to start with a cease-fire, for which there is some (?reluctance) at the moment. Let us say he does not disagree, but I wanted to talk to him about it.*

[J. Gonzalez] The U.S. vice president's meetings are taking place following Felipe Gonzalez's charter flight, which took five Latin American presidents to Santiago. During this journey, it was decided to hold another meeting of Central American presidents at the end of March or beginning of April. The Spanish prime minister also found a willingness by Rafael Callejas, the new president of Honduras, a country with a large number of contras:

[F. Gonzalez] *I think that he has a clear willingness—I am not going to set [words indistinct]—a clear willingness to live in a climate of peace that will allow his country to develop.* [passage omitted]

### Holds News Conference

*LD1403102590 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 1900 GMT 13 Mar 90*

[Italicized passages recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Just over two hours ago, in his farewell to Chile—which has just returned to democracy—Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez thought aloud about similarities between dictatorships. He held a final news conference with many references to Franco and comparisons between transitions to liberty on the two sides of the Atlantic. With one foot already on the aircraft, which will take him to Argentina for the third leg of the prime minister's Latin American tour, is Radio Madrid's special correspondent, Javier Arenas:

[Arenas] Felipe Gonzalez is leaving Chile, after speaking to most everyone, with the conviction that Chilean democracy will move forward and that the country will progress because it has an economic structure that other countries do not have:

[Gonzalez] *When one looks at Chile, one sees that it has many prospects of this happening—more prospects than most of the countries of Eastern Europe.*

[Arenas] During the hour-long news conference, Gonzalez mentioned the name of Franco more than half-a-dozen times:

[Gonzalez] *It is true that in Spain Franco built dams and that Spain was in great need of dams. If we democrats had arrived after the Franco era with the idea that what we*

*had to do was to pull down the dams built by Franco, it would simply have been disasterous. [passage omitted on the self-control shown during Spain's transition from dictatorship to democracy; on Franco as a dictator; on democracy]*

[Arenas] Gonzalez also referred from afar to an internal matter that has arisen today: ETA's [Basque Fatherland and Liberty] umpteenth communique drew the following reiterated statement from the prime minister:

[Gonzalez] *No comment, because this, I think, is the most practical thing to say in a battle that democracy has to wage against violence. No comment! This is the only way of not playing the game with those who want us to enter into a process that does not favor us.*

[Announcer] Those were the statements by Prime Minister Gonzalez in Santiago, Chile.

### Meets With PDC Leader

*PY1403201490 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Senator Andres Zaldivar, Christian Democratic Party [PDC] president, and Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez have agreed that the two principles required in the transition to democracy are prudence and firmness.

Zaldivar met with Gonzalez at the Spanish Embassy. Zaldivar pointed out that he went there to thank Gonzalez, as a representative of the Spanish Government, for helping Chile with loans and investments totaling $2 billion.

The Chilean senator said that they reviewed recent events and agreed that the future must be faced with pragmatism and realism, not merely willingness.

[Begin Zaldivar recording] I believe Chile should learn from the experience gained by other countries. This is a task for all Chileans, not just for those who won on 14 December. This involves everyone. I hope that we fare well.

As Patricio Aylwin told the nation at the National Soccer Stadium yesterday, this involves both civilians and military men, not just a few Chileans, those who are in the government or those who are part of the opposition. This is a task for all of us. [end recording]

At the National Soccer Stadium, however, the new president expressed both pragmatism and realism.

Zaldivar repudiated an incident by groups of promoters of violence, like the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front [FPMR], which replaced Chilean flags with FPMR flags.

### Soviet Zagladin Discusses Relations, Gorbachev

*PY1403171590 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Vadim Zagladin, adviser to the Supreme Soviet [title as heard], has said that he will recommend that Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Soviet Union, visit Chile. Zagladin recalled that the leader of the USSR has received invitations from Argentina and Brazil but that no date has been set for his trip to Latin America.

Regarding the perestroyka process, Zagladin emphasized that with or without Gorbachev, the Soviet Union cannot return to the past or to Stalinism.

[Begin Zagladin recording in Russian, with passage-by-passage Spanish translation] I believe that the depth of the perestroyka process is so great now that it cannot—it is not possible—to return to the past. We cannot—it is not advisable—to return to the past, because that is not the way. [end recording]

Zagladin also said that an agreement will be reached between LAN Chile [National Airline] and Aeroflot for direct flights between Santiago and Moscow.

Zagladin said that Moscow has been monitoring the Chilean situation closely. He pointed out that Gorbachev's message to President Patricio Aylwin basically notes his agreement on the great possibilities for bilateral relations in political affairs and in the fields of economic, cultural, and scientific-technological cooperation.

Regarding military cooperation, Zagladin said that such cooperation cannot be excluded but that this matter will depend on the wishes of the new Chilean president.

Zagladin noted that the USSR viewed its relationship with the Communist Party of Chile on an equal basis. Zagladin said that he could not further elaborate on this issue.

### Polish Official on Communism, Political Ties

*PY1403191490 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Report by Mario Vielma]

[Text] Communism represents the past while democracy represents the present and the future, said Polish Vice President [title as heard] Piotr Nowina Konopka after meeting with Labor Minister Rene Cortazar.

[Begin Konopka recording, in Polish with passage-by-passage Spanish translation] Communism represents the past. We believe democracy represents the present and the future. Poland and Chile have something in common. [end recording]

Nowina Konopka added that bilateral relations, both in the political and diplomatic field, will be strengthened, adding that such contacts had already begun six months ago.

Nowina Konopka emphasized that Poland and Chile have similar political processes and that the advisers to the trade unions have become ministers of state.

The Polish vice president said that Lech Walesa, the trade union leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner, will arrive in our country very soon, although he does not mention the date. I harbor the hope and the certainty that Walesa will come to Chile and I will encourage him even more to come, Nowina Konopka concluded.

### Finance Minister Receives UK, CSSR Leaders

*PY1503013090 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Finance Minister Alejandro Foxley's second day in office was full. He received various dignitaries who attended President Aylwin's inauguration. First he received UK Deputy Prime Minister [title as heard] Sir Geoffrey Howe and later Czechoslovak representative (Walter Tomarek), who a few days ago negotiated his country's resumption of relations with Chile. The Czechoslovak diplomat praised the Chilean economy and said that his country is interested in learning from the Chilean experience in their desire to overcome their shortage of technical and human resources.

[Begin (Tomarek) recording] We expect to meet other experts in this field. It is not important if they are from the old or the new government, although this might not be too diplomatic. I am an economist and I am interested in learning more about Chilean economists such as Mr. Hernan Bucchi [former finance minister in Pinochet government] or the present finance minister. We would like to know more about the way they think and the results of their policies. [end recording]

The Czechoslovak diplomat added that he has delivered an invitation to President Patricio Aylwin to visit Czechoslovakia, adding that he had also reiterated the invitation to General Pinochet and to Hernan Bucchi to do likewise. He said that neither one had answered yet but that he hoped they will do it in the coming months.

### Chilean Senator Views Return to Democracy

*PM1303152190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 90 p 3*

[Interview with Senator Andres Zaldivar, chairman of the Christian Democratic Party, by special correspondent Ye. Umerenkov in Santiago: "Chile: While We Are United, We Are Invincible"; date not given—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] The dates 11 September 1973 and 11 March 1990 will go down in Chilean history as watershed events. The first threw a country with long-established democratic traditions into the darkness of political repressions, illegality, and military tyranny. A darkness that lasted 16 and ½ years. The second marks a return to democracy which was difficult and was gained through tremendous efforts and at the cost of countless sacrifices by the people. General Pinochet took off the presidential sash at 1315 on 11 March. A few moments later, a new sash was handed over to Patricio Aylwin, Chile's new president, who was freely elected by Chileans for the first time since 1970.

Chile's Christian Democratic Party [PDC], in parallel with the Socialists, plays a leading role in the Coalition of Parties for Democracy—an alliance of the country's democratic forces. The day before Christian Democrat Aylwin took office as the country's constitutionally elected president, PDC Chairman Senator Andres Zaldivar gave an interview especially for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

[Umerenkov] Don Andres, the Christian Democrats did not back the Government of National Unity. Now you are acting jointly with political forces that belonged to it....

[Zaldivar] I think that a return to the past is impossible in Chile. Of course, at that time we committed major mistakes and made life easier for those who were against democracy and were preparing the coup. The past years and the experience of joint struggle against the dictatorship helped us to find forms of cooperation with the left wing and to realize that by being hostile we were weakening democracy. Of course, differences and rivalry remain. But rivalry ought to take civilized, democratic forms. Furthermore, we and the leftwing parties are united by the desire to eradicate social injustice and to work jointly on an economic plan which would combine economic growth with social development. A broad spectrum of political forces could cooperate in this.

[Umerenkov] The experience of the Coalition of Parties for Democracy is in many respects unique, insofar as this is the first time in Latin America's modern history that we are witnessing a transition from dictatorship to democracy by political means.

[Zaldivar] I am convinced that many people still fail to grasp the importance of what is happening. Some two years ago I asked myself: Could it be possible for Pinochet to hand over power to a lawfully elected president? All this became reality because the leadership of Chile's political parties demonstrated the will to attain common goals within the framework of the Coalition of Parties for Democracy. Following this political consensus, we have to achieve consensus between civilians and the military. Not in order to maintain the status quo but in order to enable everyone to do his job. It is necessary to achieve this in the least painful form.

[Umerenkov] Pinochet is departing from the position of president. But he will remain commander of the country's Armed Forces. Is there any danger of "surprises" by him?

[Zaldivar] Yes, Pinochet is vacating the Presidency. Even though the danger of another coup attempt exists in theory, I do not think that he would attempt it. No, he and his people think that we will be defeated through

being unable to meet the Chilean people's demands. And he expects to return to power in four years' time, but by using democratic means. This must be borne in mind: Pinochet wants to come back.

[Umerenkov] Over the next four years, therefore, the democratic process should create certain guarantees to ensure that a recurrence of the past is impossible. How will you effect the transition from structures created by the dictatorship to democracy?

[Zaldivar] The will of the majority of Chileans was clearly expressed in the plebiscite and the elections: The country must return to democratic rule. But the dictatorship regime is handing over power to the new government subject to a multitude of conditions set by the current Constitution and a whole network of laws passed by the outgoing government. How will changes be effected? I think that the only way is to seek a political consensus of democratic forces, so as to achieve political and legislative changes. This is necessary to repeal all antidemocratic articles in the Constitution, to put an end to the special status of the Armed Forces commander, and to give parliament an opportunity to become a truly democratic organ expressing the people's interests.

Regarding the military, complications could of course arise with them. They will carefully watch out for all our mistakes so as to take advantage of them. But we must not lose our cool. Nobody intends to insult their commander, General Pinochet. But he must be firmly told: He can retain his position in the Army only provided he performs his professional duties. And nothing more.

[Umerenkov] How do you appraise the prospects for Chilean-Soviet relations?

[Zaldivar] I am a great admirer of perestroyka in your country. I am convinced that relations between our countries should develop in different spheres—the political, economic, and cultural spheres—on the basis of mutual respect, equality, and each country's self-determination.

### Socialist Leader Offered Ambassadorship to USSR

*PY1403183690 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Unified Socialist Party [Partido Socialista Unificado] President Clodomiro Almeyda could be the next Chilean ambassador to the Soviet Union.

This was confirmed by Almeyda himself, who added that he is now thinking about the offer that President Patricio Aylwin made.

Concerning when he will deliver his response, Almeyda said he will respond as soon as the president returns from Brazil.

The socialist leader said: I have received the offer made by President Aylwin, an offer that represents an honor for me, and I have told him that I would be answering him within the next few days.

Asked if assuming the post of ambassador to the Soviet Union would be positive for his party, Almeyda refused to give a direct answer.

### Socialist Almeyda Views Ties With Cuba, Peru

*PY1403154190 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 14 Mar 90*

[Text] Unified Socialist Party President Clodomiro Almeyda has stressed that diplomatic relations between Chile and Cuba will be reestablished in time.

Almeyda made this remark after meeting with Peruvian President Alan Garcia. Almeyda noted that he was very happy with the one-hour meeting and expressed confidence that this meeting will help to promote Chilean-Peruvian friendship and the friendship between the progressive forces of the two countries.

## Ecuador

### * Antidrug Cooperation With U.S. Under Way

*33480297A Quito HOY in Spanish 17 Jan 90 p 6A*

[Excerpts] Groundwork for mutual collaboration between Ecuador and the United States to combat drug trafficking was established yesterday after a long meeting between Michael Skol, assistant secretary for South America of the U.S. State Department, and high officials of the Ecuadoran Government.

The four-hour meeting, which took place at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was attended by: Minister of Government Andres Vallejo; Attorney General German Carrion; President of Congress Wilfrido Lucero; Defense Minister Jorge Felix Lopex; Undersecretary for Revenue Juan Acosta; the secretary of Congress, Carlos Jaramillo, and the foreign minister in charge, Mario Aleman, among other officials, as well as Mr. Skol's closest aides.

According to the government minister, the system under discussion will consist of close cooperation between the two countries to exchange drug related information.

Skol had attended earlier meetings in La Paz, Bolivia, in preparation for the Cartagena antidrug summit. [passage ommitted]

Skol, closely guarded by security, did not offer press statements, stating that the talks were "very interesting and very important."

### * PRC Aid for Agricultural Projects

*33480298A Quito EL COMERCIO in Spanish 25 Jan 90 p A10*

[Text] An economic and technical agreement was ratified by the governments of Ecuador and the People's

Republic of China, in accordance with the Credit Cooperation Agreement signed on 12 June 1987, whereby the PRC Government will grant a line of credit in the amount of 10 million yuan.

Chinese aid will enable the following projects to be completed: an experimental agricultural farm at the Pichilinguinque resort, located in Los Rios; a center for warehousing and marketing fruit in Azuay; a project to drill wells in Churute, in the province of Guayas.

## Paraguay

### Commentator Criticizes Handling of Quayle Visit

*PY1403193490 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 14 Mar 90 p 9*

[By Ruben Cespedes in "La Opinion" column]

[Text] Dan Quayle's visit has left us doubting the validity of that old adage we were all taught in school that claims that "our forefathers gave us a free and sovereign nation."

After seeing how the U.S. Embassy handled the details of the visit, how Quayle's bodyguards mistreated our reporters, and especially after verification that the U.S. Embassy did in fact fail to recognize the jurisdiction of one of our national institutions, the Presidential Information and Culture Under Secretariat, we want to agree with those who say we are actually a colony and not an independent nation.

When the United States invaded Granada and Panama, the side of the coin we saw was that those people, or at least some of them, were thankful for the U.S. soldiers who freed them from oppression or danger. In those countries, the Americans came in as if they were in their own house and left when they believed the situation was the way they wanted it.

But it seems that Americans doing things "as if they were at home" is not limited to the military field. We were able to verify that.

The Presidential Information and Culture Under Secretariat granted credentials for Quayle's visit. But, big surprise, the credentials granted by a responsible, official institution of our sovereign nation (?) were not valid for the ceremonies, by order of the U.S. Embassy.

The reporters accredited by the Under Secretariat were systematically "bounced" when they tried to attend any of the official activities associated with the visit unless they were specifically accredited by the U.S. Embassy. The embassy also distributed a very strict agenda for the visit, establishing regulations for the press as if they were operating in U.S. territory. Quayle talked only with U.S. reporters in the U.S. Embassy and the reporters moved around as if "they were at home."

Knowing beforehand the restrictions and prohibitions imposed by the U.S. Government, what did the Information and Culture Under Secretariat and the Foreign Ministry do to support Paraguayan reporters? Nothing!

Honestly speaking, the visit of the vice president of the world's largest power is something that should not be taken lightly; whatever the security measures are, they would not be enough. But the idea of an embassy imposing rules within the territory of a host country, as if "it were at home", is reason enough for displeasure and will no doubt make "our heroes who gave us a free nation" roll over in their graves.

### King Juan Carlos' September Visit Confirmed

*PY1403192390 Asuncion EL DIARIO in Spanish 13 Mar 90 p 11*

[Text] During a meeting at La Moneda Palace between President Andres Rodriguez and Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, it was confirmed that King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia will visit Paraguay in September.

Foreign Minister Luis Maria Argana later confirmed this report, saying that the visit has been confirmed in principle but the exact date still has to be established. Argana added that it is absolutely necessary for the respective foreign ministers to exchange visits before the royal couple's visit.

"I asked Spanish Foreign Minister Fernandez Ordonez whether he can come to Paraguay before my visit to Spain, but then we came up with an interesting idea: The Cervantes Prize will be awarded to Paraguayan writer Roa Bastos in Madrid on 23 April. This will be an honor for him and for Paraguay. The prize will be presented by the king, and we thought this would be an appropriate opportunity for an important Paraguayan delegation, composed of writers and other representatives of the cultural sector, to attend the ceremony. The delegation may also include the foreign minister," Argana said.

In view of this situation, it seems that Argana may go to Spain first and continue on to Brussels, where he will sign important agreements with the EEC.

The visits by Spanish dignitaries to Paraguay are regarded as important because Spain is planning to grant aid to our country. The Spanish Cooperation Ministry [as published] reported some days ago that the Spanish Government will grant approximately $60 million to be used to finance the educational sector, the building of affordable housing, the promotion of scientific research, and cultural activities.

## Peru

### Police Tighten Candidates' Security Measures

*PY1303144790 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0000 GMT 3 mar 90*

[Text] Lima, 12 Mar (EFE)—After several terrorist attacks, including one against a presidential candidate in which a police officer died, the National Police today tightened security measures in Lima to protect the candidates in the general elections scheduled for 8 April.

National Police Chief General Osvaldo Diaz has reported that the police are concentrating their efforts on the highways leading into Lima and in peripheral neighborhoods. People without identification cards will be arrested for 24 hours, and suspects will be investigated for 15 days.

Diaz added that terrorists are trying to frighten voters or frustrate the presidential elections, like when they tried to interrupt the municipal elections in November 1989.

Antiterrorist Directorate (Dircote) Chief Edgar Suclla said the attacks over the weekend have been blamed on the Marxist Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA).

He added that MRTA activists left "their mark" in the dynamite attacks against the state-owned public transportation company, political offices, and public companies.

Suclla explained that the Maoist "Shining Path" group's possible involvement in the death of National Police Captain Aristides Huerta is being investigated.

On 11 March, the intelligence service arrested two individuals who were carrying dynamite sticks near a rostrum from which Socialist Left (IS) presidential candidate Alfonso Barrantes addressed a rally a few minutes later.

This aborted attack occurred in the province of Pisco, 200 km south of Lima, three days after Peruvian President Alan Garcia warned that presidential candidates should adopt strict security measures.

The National Police chief reported that protection and surveillance of most candidates has been redoubled, especially for the nine presidential candidates and the main congressional candidates.

### Shining Path 'Armed Stoppage' Threatens Voting

*PY1403022090 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1546 GMT 13 Mar 90*

[Text] Lima, 13 Mar (EFE)—The wave of strikes being staged in Peru, the fact that Ayacucho is practically paralyzed as a result of the "armed stoppage" called by the Shining Path, and the probable need for a runoff have been making the last days before Peru's 8 April elections more and more difficult.

According to reports received from the Andean town of Ayacucho, the Shining Path is staging the second day of a 48-hour "armed stoppage"—a strike enforced under the threat of death.

In Ayacucho, only the official organizations are working, and they are behind closed doors. The police and the Army are constantly patrolling the streets of the town to protect those who want to leave, although the number of people who want to go to the airport is very small.

Except for four bombs that went off early on 12 March, causing no damage, there has been no violence in Ayacucho. Although the town is entirely paralyzed, the streets were full of pamphlets in which the Shining Path threatens to kill those who do not comply with the "stoppage" and calls the democratic system a "murderous system that creates hunger and works against the people."

Meanwhile, strikes continue to be staged throughout the country, and strikers daily clash with the police in downtown Lima, burn tires, break windows, and block the streets.

Since yesterday, the 6,000 employees of the U.S. Southern Peru Copper company—which extracts copper in the southern region of Peru—have joined strikers at the Lima municipal transportation sector, the National Penitentiary Institute, the education sector, the judicial branch, the social security service, and the Aeroperu Airline pilots.

The Southern Peru Copper Company workers' strike is being staged at the port of Ilo refinery and at the Toquepala and Cuajone mines.

In Lima, the National Police have intensified security measures, particularly in the slums, now that there are barely four weeks until the elections.

Those not carrying documents are arrested for 24 hours, and those deemed suspicious are held for 15 days, the maximum period allowed by law.

Lima has been in a state of emergency for four years.

National Police Chief General Oswaldo Diaz has pointed out that the terrorist activities are aimed at frightening the people and forcing them to abstain from voting in the April elections.

A series of bomb attacks has been carried out against the water company and the offices of the Democratic Front (Fredemo), which is led by writer and politician Mario Vargas Llosa, who is the leading presidential candidate in the upcoming elections.

Technical Police Captain Aristides Huerta was murdered a few days ago.

On 11 March, Socialist Left candidate Alfonso Barrantes was attacked a few minutes before opening a rally at Pisco, 200 km south of Lima.

Polls indicate that Peruvians elect their president in a second round because Vargas Llosa will not receive the necessary number of votes necessary to be elected in the first round. The center-right daily EXPRESO today published a poll conducted by the Peruvian Investigation Company, which indicates that Vargas Llosa will win the second round.

### * Fredemo Countersubversion Plan Discussed

*90ET0109B Lima CARETAS in Spanish*
*29 Jan 90 pp 18-19, 84-85*

[Interview with Fredemo senatorial candidate General (retired) Alejandro Antunez de Mayolo by Laura Puertas and Fernando Rospigliosi; place and date not given—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] One of the surprises on the Fredemo [Democratic Front] slate was the inclusion, as No. 30 on the senators' ballot, of General (retired) Alejandro Antunez de Mayolo, who served as commander in chief of the Army until 31 December 1989. Antunez de Mayolo held important posts in his military branch before retiring. He was director of the War College, and he served as commander of the Third Armored Division in Moquegua and as chief of logistics for the Army. He also was an adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Relations during the military government, and he took a postgraduate course at the War College in France. Prior to his sudden venture into the realm of the Liberty movement, it was noted in military circles that he had a very close relationship with President Garcia.

What support will there be for what the Fredemo calls "the great change" advocated by Peruvian Army Gen Alejandro Antunez de Mayolo, who for the past 5 years has been deeply involved with the antisubversive struggle? Antunez de Mayolo is on the senatorial slate for the Libertad movement.

[CARETAS] Your sudden entry into politics surprised many people. How did it happen?

[Antunez de Mayolo] Many people think that I was already linked with Fredemo, but that is not the case. To use a very military term, I would say that I was recruited on 4 January, when Mario Vargas Llosa saw fit to summon me for an interview. This was not the first time that I had been politically tempted.

[CARETAS] Are you referring to the fact that President Alan Garcia asked you to serve as the first minister of defense?

[Antunez de Mayolo] On that occasion, they talked with me. I was very emphatic, and I told them that I did not have the required experience, because I was only a young general. I told the person who came to see me that the only person who could fill that post, in my opinion, was Gen Enrique Lopez Albujar. The second occasion involved joining the cabinet of Luis Alberto Sanchez. I did not accept then either, because it could have affected the principle of discipline in my institution. I was the number two man, and if I were the head of the sector, the situation would have been that the commanding general, in this case General Palomino, would have had to be my subordinate. Such a situation damages the organism.

[CARETAS] Could it not have been that already at that time, you were more inclined toward the right wing than toward APRA?

[Antunez de Mayolo] I had no affiliation on the occasion when Dr Sanchez told me that we were passing through very difficult times, which required self-sacrifice. I responded that if indeed this was true, it was essential to find the proper person. In addition, I told him that I am not a politician, and that I might well be a poor minister of defense. What I am indeed sure of is that I am not a bad general. I am in command of the neurons of the Army. The best contribution I could make was in this post.

[CARETAS] In concrete terms, General, what are the actions which need to be carried out?

[Antunez de Mayolo] I want to say that we are not waging a war on a national level. Why? For example, the government declares an emergency zone, and we wage the war there. Then the subversives commit their deeds somewhere else, where there is no declared emergency, and then return to the emergency zones. The Sendero [Shining Path] is operating in every sector—in the secondary schools, with the peasants, in the mining sector, the trade unions. And we are only responding to this with police and military actions.

[CARETAS] You mentioned the infiltration by the Shining Path in the secondary schools and universities. What specific measures do you advocate in this connection?

[Antunez de Mayolo] The only thing I can tell you for the time being is the political decision. How it will be carried out will be seen later. I have discussed this same subject with President Garcia, and he told me: "You have said that action must be undertaken at the universities, but when we did this, we failed." I laughed, and I told them that they were thinking they would encounter 5,000 individuals wearing T-shirts with the Shining Path or MRTA [Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement] slogans printed on them, or a weapons arsenal. What was attempted was just one police action. What I am proposing is to maintain control over the government educational institutions so that the teaching of subversive doctrines will cease. This is the great decision.

[CARETAS] What does control mean?

[Antunez de Mayolo] Again I say that there we are speaking about the political decisionmaking level. The plan of action is for others to draft—that is another level.

[CARETAS] In your opinion, on how many people can the Shining Path rely?

[Antunez de Mayolo] You would have to ask this question of Minister Mantilla, because it seems that he gave a figure the other day. It is very difficult to make an estimate. Has anyone ever seen them all together?

[CARETAS] Do you believe that the Shining Path has grown in the past 5 years?

[Antunez de Mayolo] Yes, the statistics show that this is a very active group.

[CARETAS] What should the relationship between the Armed Forces and the press be like?

[Antunez de Mayolo] There must be continuous communication. The press is contributing greatly to terrorism.

[CARETAS] How is that?

[Antunez de Mayolo] A terrorist act is more persuasive than a thousand words. The Shining Path is the champion at doing this. It functions on the basis of armed strikes. The press, television in particular, puts the truck driver or the shopkeeper supporting the strike out of fear on the screen. And as this is shown nationally, it is not only those individuals who are terrorized, but the thousands of television viewers.

[CARETAS] You advocate a pact with the press so that acts of terrorism will not be publicized.

[Antunez de Mayolo] This seems important to me. There must be a conviction that we are not playing the subversives' game, that we are waging war against them.

[CARETAS] Doesn't it seem to you that failing to report what happens would be more dangerous, because people would get into the realm of speculation?

[Antunez de Mayolo] I do not say that there should be no reporting. What I advocate is that the reporting should not involve sensationalism. I admit that it is difficult to reconcile this with freedom of the press. But this is something that should be studied, in order to find a way which will do harm to no one.

[CARETAS] Is it true that the economic situation of the FFAA [Armed Forces] is critical?

[Antunez de Mayolo] What I can tell you is that prior to December of 1989, when I ceased to be chief of staff, the emergency budget for the second half of 1989 still had not been allocated.

[CARETAS] And what about wages?

[Antunez de Mayolo] It seems fair that after 39 years of service, I earn approximately 5 million intis.

[CARETAS] Does this cause discouragement in the Army?

[Antunez de Mayolo] I would say that it probably has an effect. But I also want to tell you that we have received training based on detachment. No one goes into the Army in order to become rich. And there is are historic precedents for this. Generals Bolognesi and Salaverry wrote in letters to members of their families: "Do not ask for anything, because it should not be thought that my sacrifice had a price." When we have discussed these matters with our colleagues, I have reminded them of these letters. But I have also told them that the situation requires sacrifices. The bad thing is that very often, only certain sectors make the sacrifices.

[CARETAS] One of the problems in the antisubversive war is the weak relationship the Armed Forces have with the people.

[Antunez de Mayolo] The problem is more complex, because no one wants to submit a denunciation in writing. The people must understand that they play an important role.

[CARETAS] What are the Armed Forces doing to win the confidence of the people, so that they will take up their role?

[Antunez de Mayolo] But why should it have to be for the Armed Forces to do this? The only ones in the game are the Armed Forces. There is a need for an organization to mobilize the people. Very often I have visited bases where I have learned with welcome surprise that the community had asked that the officer in command of a zone not be changed.

[CARETAS] Why then are the commanders of the emergency zones being transferred every year?

[Antunez de Mayolo] Do you know what it is like to live in an emergency zone for a year?

[CARETAS] The counterinsurgency experts, such as Robert Thompson, an Englishman who defeated the subversives in Malaya, for example, express the view that it is very important, precisely because of the relationship of trust which should exist with the people, that the military commanders remain in the zone as long as necessary. In Peru we have the recent case of General Arciniegas. How long will it take his successor to get to know the zone and the people?

[Antunez de Mayolo] We would have to send Thompson to Huallaga to live to see if he could bear up. It is exhausting, there is tremendous tension. And then there is the family. The ideal thing would be to keep them there, but this is not humane. They must be given a little relief.

[CARETAS] Did you not say that this war demands sacrifices?

[Antunez de Mayolo] Yes, but do not send us to the cross.

[CARETAS] Making a self-critical effort, do you believe that the command levels have been negligent to some extent in managing the resources, in making the decisions regarding aquisitions?

[Antunez de Mayolo] To this, now, I do not agree. I have been a part of the command level. The Army is a very serious business, and aquisitions plans are drafted. But what do you do when you are not given the corresponding resources?

[CARETAS] However, there are those who think that by refraining from buying a tank, it would have been possible to purchase apparatus for nocturnal sighting which might perhaps have prevented the deaths of so many policemen during the attack on the Uchiza post.

[Antunez de Mayolo] First of all, the helicopters we have cannot be equipped with the nocturnal sighting apparatus. This apparatus is very costly. What we do have are individual nocturnal sighting mechanisms which cannot be used in flight. They only aid vision within a range of 400 meters.

[CARETAS] Some months ago, CARETAS reported that the Army had taken the half-tracks away from the police, and then had left them with the armored forces, abandoned and unused for months.

[Antunez de Mayolo] These vehicles were acquired by Minister Mantilla. They were World War I models. The Israelis had changed the engines. I can discuss this knowledgeably, because I was in Israel, and they wanted to sell them to me as well. We not only need a vehicle which functions, but one which is serviceable.

[CARETAS] And now who has them, the Army or the police?

[Antunez de Mayolo] The Army. This is not a vehicle suited to the subversive struggle, perhaps for urban warfare. It is a sand vehicle, slow.

[CARETAS] Are you suggesting that Mantilla was deceived?

[Antunez de Mayolo] They did not deceive him. But this was not the proper equipment. We reclaimed the tanks because they were not suitable for the police.

[CARETAS] To what do you attribute the fact there are so many military officers and admirals running for congress? Is it the politicization of the armed branches, or perhaps the fact that the salary of a legislator is much more attractive than that of a general?

[Antunez de Mayolo] In my case, there is no economic motivation. The politicians sought us out, because they have recently begun to understand that the problem of subversion requires professional treatment. We are the professionals in this field.

[CARETAS] I suppose that during the talks you mentioned with your colleagues, the other generals, they have very frequently commented on how small their salaries are in comparison to those of the legislators. Doesn't it seem to you that the salaries of legislators should be reduced, in order to prevent vulnerability among the members of the Armed Forces, for example?

[Antunez de Mayolo] If I were to try to compare the military officer with the legislator, I would inevitably offend one or the other of the parties. What we should have is approval on the national level.

[CARETAS] If the MVLL [Mario Vargas Llosa] government is unsuccessful in resolving the economic problem, and if the subversives continue to gain ground, would there then be a possibility of military intervention, in view of the failure of various civilian alternatives?

[Antunez de Mayolo] That is a very difficult question. Peru has already passed through these difficult stages. Now we have mature Armed Forces, committed to the Constitution and the laws. Our presence is evidence that we have changed.

[CARETAS] Was the attitude of FAP [Peruvian Air Force] General Abram Cavallerino when he even ordered the flight of planes over the government palace evidence of this maturity?

[Antunez de Mayolo] That was something else. That was a problem which was internal, rather than one of a political nature. I know a great deal about it. In no way was he attempting to do what is being suggested here.

[CARETAS] In your view, is respect for human rights basic within an antisubversive strategy?

[Antunez de Mayolo] Human rights must be respected on both sides. We in the Army respect them. It is they who do not.

[CARETAS] Do you think that there have been some bad elements in the Army who have committed abuses?

[Antunez de Mayolo] Yes, there may have been errors.

[CARETAS] What you call errors should be penalized. What about Lieutenant Hurtado, for example?

[Antunez de Mayolo] Each case must be analyzed. All of those who commit errors should be tried. But in additon, we must understand the problem. Can you imagine the tension felt by an officer going out on patrol when he does not even know if he will return? We are all fearful. If a branch moves, one must fire.

[CARETAS] But these men have received training precisely for getting through these situations. Again, should those who commit violations of human rights be punished, or not?

[Antunez de Mayolo] I reiterate that each case must be analyzed. It is for the proper body to judge. Many times we have been much harsher than the civil courts.

[CARETAS] Finally, do you agree that those accused of terrorism should be tried in the military courts?

[Antunez de Mayolo] No. Each should remain in his own sector. It is not because one jurisdiction is not functioning that the Army should take charge of the matter.

**[Box, p 19] The Human Rights Issue**

"Organizations which often have good intentions and sometimes a magnificent record in defense of human rights are being manipulated and misinformed by those who believe that using any means is justified to overthrow the democratic society." This statement was made by presidential candidate Mario Vargas Llosa after the presentation, on Monday 22 January, of the defense and pacification commission of Liberty. This is a worrisome statement coming from the man who might be the next president of Peru, because the reports from such organizations as America Watch or the State Department are recognized around the world. But this is also true because if the subversives are to be defeated, scrupulous respect for human rights is needed.

**[Box, p 85] Final Note**

According to some jurists, General Antunez de Mayolo cannot run for a senatorial seat without violating an express prohibition in the Constitution which would disqualify him since he did not resign from his post 6 months prior to the election. Antunez de Mayolo served as commander in chief until 31 December 1989. Did Fredemo lawyers overlook this detail? However, no one had challenged the general by the deadline for filing objections to the candidates. In any case, the National Election Board will have the final say.

Article 172. No one can be elected ? Jeputy or senator unless he has resigned from his pos 6 months prior to the election.

(...)

4. The members of the Armed Forces and the police forces on active service.

## Uruguay

### Government To Normalize Relations With Panama

*PY1103010790 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2320 GMT 10 Mar 90*

[Excerpt] Santiago, 10 Mar (EFE)—Uruguayan President Luis Alberto Lacalle today said that Latin America's great challenge is the construction of a democracy "that is not merely rhetorical" but is able to tackle and solve problems with efficiency and expediency.

Lacalle also said in a news conference that his government will normalize relations with Panama next week. The Uruguayan president made a fervent call for (?Latin American unity).

Lacalle declined to "advise" incoming Chilean President Patricio Aylwin on civic-military relations. He stressed the importance of the "Group of Eight" (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Panama—although the latter has been suspended because of its internal political situation). The Uruguayan president said he hopes Chile and other Latin American nations will join the group. [passage omitted]

## Venezuela

### Peasants Occupy Spanish Embassy in Land Protest

*PA1503031190 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0045 GMT 15 Mar 90*

[Text] Caracas, 14 Mar (EFE)—A Spanish Embassy spokesman today said that the group of peasants that occupied the embassy in the Venezuelan capital are still at the diplomatic mission and apparently have no intention of leaving within the next few hours.

The Spanish diplomat said that the representative of the Venezuelan prosecutor general's office has still not arrived. The peasants were waiting to present the reasons for their takeover of the embassy to this representative.

Everything seems to indicate that the peasants, who have maintained a correct attitude, will spend the night in the Spanish mission's facilities, the diplomat added.

The peasants, from Yaracuy State (280 km west of Caracas), have been evicted from their land and claim their action is aimed at drawing the authorities' attention to their plight.

A member of the group said their intention is to go to the Venezuelan Congress and report the repression that the people of Los Canizos have suffered every time they attempted to prevent the evictions.

The Spanish mission's spokesman trusts that the group will leave the embassy tomorrow and will be successful in explaining their problems to the appropriate authorities.

## Guyana

### President Hoyte To Travel to Brazil, Barbados

*FL1203144090 Bridgetown CANA in English 1048 GMT 11 Mar 90*

[Text] Georgetown, Guyana, March 11, CANA—President Desmond Hoyte will travel to Brazil and to Barbados next week, the office of the president announced. It said Hoyte will visit Brazil from March 13 to 16 to attend the inauguration of Dr. Fernando Collor de Mello as president.

The day after returning from Brazil, he will travel to Barbados to attend a meeting of heads of government of the Commonwealth Caribbean and Canada.

While in Brazil, he will have bilateral discussions with Collor, as well as with President Virgilio Barco of Colombia, President Ramsewak Shankar of Suriname, President Andres Perez of Venezuela, Vice President Dr. Borisav Jovic of Yugoslavia and other heads of delegation attending the inauguration.

The Caricom-Canada heads of government meeting in Barbados is being convened in keeping with agreement reached at the last Caricom heads of government meeting in Grenada last year. That meeting had agreed that such a meeting be convened at the earliest possible opportunity to discuss poilicy issues.

The meeting will be held from March 18 to 20. And, according to Hoyte's office, he is expected to return to Guyana on March 20.

## Suriname

### Shankar Leaves for Inauguration in Brazil

*FL1303192290 Paramaribo International Service in English 1730 GMT 13 Mar 90*

[Text] President Ramsewak Shankar has this morning left for Brazil at the head of a four-man-strong delegation to attend the inauguration of President Fernando Collor de Mello. The newly-elected civilian president will be officially sworn in on Friday coming [16 March].

On Thursday [15 March], President Shankar will be received by outgoing President Jose Sarney and, on Friday, he will attend the handing over ceremony of the presidency. President Shankar will also hold discussions with leaders of the Amazon Pact countries in Brazil.

The Surinamese delegation which will attend the inauguration of the Brazilian president further consists of Foreign Minister Eddie Sedoc, Suriname's Ambassador to Brazil (Siegfried Merner), two government officials, and the wife of the president. The delegation led by President Shankar will return to Suriname on Friday.

### Advisory Group Chair: Tucayanas Want Autonomy

*FL1303192590 Paramaribo International Service in English 1730 GMT 9 Mar 90*

[Text] The Tucayana Amazons want the right to manage their living areas by themselves to be legalized. This was told to the press yesterday by the chairman of the advisory group of the Tucayanas, (Norvus Yupitana). The so-called commission (?of eight) has been appointed last month to represent the rebellious group in Paramaribo. The demand for autonomy is included in the manifest of the Tucayanas which was submitted to President Ramsewak Shankar last Saturday [3 March] during peace talks. The Tucayana Amazons among others want responsibility for the allocation of grounds within their living areas and want to settle small [words indistinct] there by themselves. Further, they want to issue licenses for hunting grounds to be used by the residents of those areas.

The chairman of the commission, (Yupitana), is of the opinion that the demand for autonomy is normal. According to him, there are examples of this in the world while in Suriname there is a customary law in the case of local governments or interior villages.

The Tucayanas say, as stated in the manifest, that this right must be legalized, said (Yupitana) yesterday during the press conference. (Yupitana) says that he, therefore, does not understand why the president has characterized the Tucayana Manifest as very dangerous.

### Civil Servants To Return to Eastern Regions

*FL1203193590 Paramaribo International Service in English 1730 GMT 12 Mar 90*

[Text] Civil servants will again be able to carry out their duties in east Suriname. This has resulted from discussions which were held yesterday in the framework of the peace process between a government delegation led by Social Affairs Minister Willy Soemita and the Jungle Commando. The discussions were held at Stoelmans Eiland in the Marowijne District in east Suriname.

Since the beginning of the war in 1986, the working activities of civil servants in east Suriname have been stopped. Most civil servants vacated their posts because of fear due to the armed violence. In the framework of the peace process, the government is busy with the resumption of activities in the former war areas. In relation to this, discussions are being held with the illegal armed groups.

Minister Soemita has yesterday at the end of the discussions with the Jungle Commando told the national television that he will soon go to the south and the west of Suriname. Those areas are under the control of Tucayana Amazons, among others.